Pakistan

YESTERDAY TODAY AND TOMORROW

By IK

STUDENT SERVICES
LAHORE
1976

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Dedicated to :

The Azams – My Family
My Parents
Their Children and their Children
And
Their Children!
May God bless them all!

APOLOGIA

These papers were written by me as an independent nationalist mostly between August, 1974 and April, 1976, (when I was serving at the Institute of Strategic Studies, and some before that, while at the federal Ministry of Education, Islamabad). Many of them have already appeared in the periodic national press. All were submitted to the government, for whatever they are worth. It is for the reader and critic to judge as to how useful they might have been in the past or could still be, now and in future.

(IKRAM AZAM)

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Introduction

It is a matter of common knowledge that the foreign policy of any state is the projection of its national policy, and its international relations are designed to promote its national interests.

Keeping this vital fact and factor in mind, the first question which arises in the study of the interests of any state in any other state or region is : What motivates this interest ? This question is equally applicable to Iran's interest in South or South-East Asia. In other words, we might ask ourselves at once : What is Iran's interest in this region and what is the motive force behind this interest ? The simple and general answer, as suggested above, is : the promotion of Iran's national interests and the projection of its national policy.

But what is this national policy and national interest ?

Apart from the usual, universal and essential interests of national and regional security, peace and progress, Iran is motivated by certain pressures which are peculiar to it. They can be traced back to its history and circumstances—past, recent and contemporary. They are also attributable to its geo-political constraints and geo-strategic compulions. Let us examine the more important of these, briefly.

Geo-Political and Geo-Strategic

Claiming by inherent right, the leadership of the Persian/Arabian Oil/Gulf region, Iran's location is very important, strategically. With all its wealth, it is easily vulnerable to the Russian might and even influence. Iran knows that Russia's interest in it is firm, persistent and critical. Iran verges on, (if not falls in), the inflammable Middle East. Except for Pakistan and Turkey, its relations with other neighbours have been at the best just workable/working. With the Arabs, they have been uncertain and wavering. Only recently have they been normalised with Iraq. At one time, even Pakistan, (though a close friend) was, strength-wise, a potential to be reckoned with.

The dominant geo-political theme of Iran's national policy is :

(i) National security, sovereignty and integrity.

(ii) Leadership and guardship of the Oil Gulf area.

Political

Iran is an agening monarchy which is menaced by revolutionary forces around and democratic-progressive consciousness within. It is a benevolent dictatorship preserved by political shrewdness, state forces like the Savak and American-cum-West European backing. Added to this is the yawning generation gap between the Shah and his son, which makes the issue of succession and continuity quite a problem for Iran. Its predictable, active and p.ospective props are the well-known trio—

the still very young crown prince, the queen and the Shah's twin sister. The matter becomes more serious when its trouble-spots have not died out completely. In short, Iran is bravely racing against galloping time and political obsolescence. This is both understandable and quite admirable.

Economic

Iran, with its oil money, is booming with wealth. It is using that to :

(i) Modernise its arsenels and weaponry and ensure its defence and security ; especially through its air force and navy.

(ii) To build up a prosperous economy at home, in order to keep the people happy and contended with the monarchial status quo.

(iii) To win friends and allies by investing abroad.

Iran's petro-dollars are intended to secure its peace and longevity, friends and allies. Its heavy investments in the West are paying off political dividends. Now it is wisely turning to the East foi similar success and joint/shared leadership of South Asia/the Third World/the Group of 77—which will reinforce its claim to the leadership of the Oil Gulf area.

Iran's 'Forward Policy'

The Shah's utterances on both his domestic and foreign policy indicate depth, foresight and vision. He is a man who likes to plan much ahead and peep into the future lying decades hence, keeping a firm grip on the present, at the same time. This is particularly true of his views on stagflation, the energy crisis, population explosion, nuclear proliferation, peace zones, detente and the economic and political rights of the Third World vis-a-vis the West. In order to safe-guard Iran's frontiers and promote its interests, he is following a 'forward policy' which takes him gradually to South Asia and

the Far East, on the strength of his backing by the West and his own economic resources. He has managed so far to keep the Russians at bay; and is developing good relations with the Chinese as well as with Japan. He has invested much in India and would like to be on the best possible terms with it—not of course, at the cost of his relations with Pakistan. That is what 'bilateralism' means to him. The Shah seems to support regional alliances or arrangements only to the extent that they incorporate and promote Iran's bilateral relations. That explains his suggestion to expand the R.C.D. in order to include India, among others. Some critics consider Iran's 'forward policy' as a projection of the US/Western (imperialist ?) policy in South Asia, to contain communism and to effect a viable regional balance of power, neutralising the Russian influence and wooing India into a kind of counter, reversed or parallel 'Asia Security Plan'—wherein the dominant role will be played jointly by Iran and Bharat.

For Iran, the R.C.D. is both a link with Turkey and Pakistan and a stepping stone towards the Afro-Asian Ocean and South-East Asia. Among other things, that would keep Iran's sea lanes and arteries open. But he would not like to get bogged down with the R.C.D. That is why his courteous evasion of the proposal to concretise it at the Izmir Summit recently. The proposed Treaty of Izmir has yet to be signed. It might not be fair to pre-judge it. But it may also be equally promissory and evasive, if one can opine on the basis of current events. One proof is the ten-year plan to introduce the R.C.D. free-trade zone. In ten years the world would have changed tremendously and with it, the need for such a zone or even the R.C.D., itself. As such, some realists/cynics/critics might regard the joint communique at the end of the Izmir Summit as a brave and courteous apologia, based on facts. Of course, Pakistan did its very best and is not to blame for the luke-warm outcome. It would have taken all three to make a go of it. The Shah's pragmatism in this connection could also be regarded

by some as restrictive of the R.C.D. (—if not 'subversive' of it). He does seem to be acting as a built-in 'sobering' factor. Apparently the 'stalemate' is perhaps due to inherent and circumstantial or situational political and economic, national and international limitations, which none of the three partners seem to be able to help.

The Middle East being more troublesome, Iran is looking towards South Asia, which gives him a larger perspective, a freer outlet and all the sea-lanes and ocean channels that it wants. While maintaining its traditional ties with the Middle East and interest in its peace ; and while preserving its good relations with Europe and America, Iran's thrust towards South Asia is sure. At present it necessitates cordiality with India. But Iran's forward policy does not mean self-defence and self-preservation, alone. It also implies a desire to at least share gradually (—if not to 'monopolise', as some suspect), the leadership of South Asia. India's ambitions in this direction are too well-known to be elaborated here. Therefore, the possibilities of competition (--and may be even cold confrontation one day), between them for the senior/major, if not exclusive and unquestioned, leadership of South Asia by both Iran and India. One has the money and the other, the nuclear might, to lay such a claim. But for the present, it is in their mutual interest to keep any such plans conveniently convert, and neutralise each other with mutual wooing. The decisive factor in this Indo-Iran bid for the leadership of South Asia will be the role of the super and big powers, and the state of the Sino-Soviet relations.

Pakistan's Options

How does Pakistan fit into this context ? Essentially as a pay-off beneficiary and a buffer zone of peace—for the present. It must mature into realising that it should not place all its eggs in one basket. While normalising its relations with its neighbours, Pakistan needs to befriend Russia and galva-

nise its ties with China, the Muslim world and the smaller states of South Asia. It, too, must reach out for Africa, on the one hand, and Japan and Australia, on the other. Pakistan, also, must not get bogged down in the R C.D. Indeed, the very intention in creating the R.C.D. was to protect and promote the partners, mutual interests jointly, and not to convert it into a collective trap **to arrest such stakes and concerns.** And there can always be substitute and/or expanded R.C.Ds. If Iran has its understandable reservations or even Turkey is reluctant, others may be more amenable, e.g. the Arabs, Indonesia or Malaysia ; Sri Lanka and China. All this may be a tall order. But we seem to have no choice but to keep trying to preserve and promote our national interests.

Iran's forward policy towards South Asia can be balanced and coupled with Pakistan's forward policy towards the Middle East, one the one hand, and Far East, on the other. It is not a question of competition, parallelism or check-making. It is only one of keeping our options open—while firmly securing old and existing friendships, including Iran's and Turkey's and preserving the spirit of the R.C.D., in-fact, the R.C.D., itself, as far as possible—in order to promote national interests and reglonal peace, progress and prosperity.

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THE ROLE
of the
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The Role of the Pakistani Writer

INTRODUCTION

This is a fascinating and challenging subject to speak or write on. Almost as wide as the expansive stretches of this land. In all propriety to the reader and listener and fairness to myself, I should try to define and delimit it. But I will resist this temptation to seek an easy escape. For that would not be just to the theme, itself. Its very charm lies in its unlimited possibilities and illimitable potential—so general and all-pervasive. I may, perhaps subconsciously, venture into some dimensions, confinements and restrictions, as we go along. But I know that I will not talk of individuals, except as illustrations. Nor will I tell tales from history.

This being a general subject, I will be indulging in generalisations, plentifully, despite all their well-known risks, fallacies and daring exceptions. I do hope that I can get away with some of them, at least for some time.

And so to brass tags! I will try to be as brief as possible ; and in that brevity, to evaluate and compare the Pakistani writer's role yesterday and today. Thereafter, I will try to seek a role for him in the future; which invariably steps in even as we talk of it.

The Heritage

The Pakistani writer had a noble spiritual and religious and a rich political, social, cultural, linguistic and literary heritage at the time of independence in 1947. He was a learned linguist and an enlightened scholar, well familiar with the oriental and occidental classics and languages. The Second World War was contemporary history. Events of the First World War and of the 1857 Indian War of Independence were still well-known. Above all, the writer at that time was a living eye-witness to and an active participant in the history of the times. The Freedom Movement, as inspired, guided and led by top national leaders like the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was what fired their spirits and pens, the most. Iqbal, the nation's sage and seer, poet and philosopher, like his political peer and the father of the nation, showed them the clear path to their collective role, destiny and freedom. It was an age of vaulting values and principles, altruism and service, ideals and ideologies. People thought more of giving rather than getting and taking, of doing rather than dictating and demanding, of duties rather than rights, alone, of exemplary action and noble deeds rather than empty slogans and shallow speeches. Of course, there was also a lot of matchless oratory and excellent rhetorics; which have not, perhaps, been surpassed since then. But it was sincere and it came straight from the heart. That is why it spontaneously rallied round itself millions of enthused devotees. For it was an era when people, big and small, had the courage of their convictions, and they could stand up for, dare, defy, suffer and sacrifise their very lives for what they believed in. Indeed, it was our golden age of hope, faith, belief and united action. The writers generally reflected this spirit well, to say the least.

The Nationalists and the Progressives

To put it briefly, the national(its) writer's role, whether he expressed it on the pulpit or in print, before 1947, was that of

the proverbial friend, philosopher and guide, in many ways—by championing Muslim Nationalism and *Not* Indian nationalism. Here I might hasten to clarify my use of the term 'nationalist' as distinct from 'national'. In the pre-partition days, the (British) Indian Nationalist—be he a Hindu, Muslim or of any other religion, was one who believed in a one and united Indian nation, as opposed to the Two Nation Theory, which epitomised the demand for Pakistan, on the basis of the two major and irreconcilable Indian nations, the Muslims and the Hindus. The Muslim of the Muslim Nation was opposed to the Indian nationalist on his socio-political creed. Here I have used the terms national and nationalist interchangeably, referring to the Muslim pro-Pakistan nationalist who believed in and struggled for Pakistan. It was only a microscopic minority of misled Muslim political intellectuals and elitists—or Indian Muslim nationalists—who opposed Pakistan, as against the millions of masses and classes, who suffered and struggled for it, to create it, ultimately. The Indian Muslim Nationalist writers were like a drop in the ocean. Applied to those days, the experssion 'Muslim (Indian) Nationalist' meant a pro-Pakistan Muslim Indian, while a 'nationalist Muslim' or an Indian Nationalist (Muslim) was his opposite, favouring a united India. Many top Muslim League leaders and even the creators of Pakistan evolved from the stage of nationalist Muslims to the stature of Muslim Nationalists, including Iqbal and Jinnah. That is because they were disillusioned by the Hindu intentions and convinced of the absolute necessity of Pakistan as the only safeguard of the independent and distinct entity, rights, liberty and sovereignty of the Muslim nation.

Similarly, like the Indian Nationalists, the Progressive writers of the Progressive Movement which emerged on the sub-continental scene in the 1930s and was at its peak in the 1940s, and who shared some of their views, made no or little effective contribution to the Freedom Movement. Over-awed

by the Progressive Movements of the West, they were too busy in experimenting with the western literary and intellectual models.

But the pro-Pakistan intellectual was a torch-bearer, thinker and leader in his own right. For as a true nationalist, he was a man of many parts—a man of thought and action—of learning and letters ; a journalist and pamphleteer ; an educator, a political thinker and analyst, a politician and leader ; a party worker, an orator, propagandist and organiser. He not only accepted the leadership of the politician *per-se*, he sometimes even led movements himself, at least intellectually. And invariably, any writer of caliber and merit, was consulted and valued for his views, at least on a local and regional level. Of course, that does not mean that there was any dearth of such luminaries on a national plane. Indeed, the history of our Freedom Movement is replete with the names of such epoch-makers, pace-setters and trail-blazers, as the founding fathers of Pakistan, *e.g.* Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the Ali Brothers, Syed Ameer Ali and Allama Iqbal, above all, who helped the Quaid-i-Azam to spell out the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan, and to make the nation's greatest dream come true. Interestingly, a great deal of the literature of our Freedom Movement—and of our constitutional and political development before and after partition—is in English.

After 1947

But unfortunately, soon after 1947, that became dated history, consigned to the attics of easy consciences. In the welter of petty politicking, personal power aggrandisement and palace trigues that followed over the years and decades, our writing, too, became weak and senile, and got degenerate and decadent, by and large. Not that there were no rebels and inconoclaste. But it was no longer a vocation and calling with a high mission to achieve. It became a profession, a tricky trade or at best, an art or artifice. Journalism

particularly, was either a prattle of parrots singing to the tunes of the powers that were, or it got yellow, muddy and abusive, or it was a dumb-charade, a chess-game, a hide and seek with the arm of authority, generally swaying from extreme servility to aimless defiance. Of course, there were, occasionally, frantic outbursts for the fundamental rights and the freedom of the press, while the rule of the law could be read of only in books on politics and constitution. For democracy was out for a long joy-ride! While the minute minority which dared to raise its head or voice got generally silensed, coerced, bribed, pressurised, brutally muted or worse, the majority comprised either: (i) dumb, driven cattle, or (ii) indifferent onlookers or half-curious spectators; or even (iii) eager self-seekers turned self-sellers. All kinds of fads and movements, generally fake and pseudo, were eagerly espoused imitatively, derivatively. They were of all descriptions, literary, cultural and intellectual, economic and political, psychological and philosophic. But they were trendy and skin-deep only, accepted not for their intrinsic worth, if any, but for being the in-thing. Half-digested western concepts and movements were soon in vogue—alas, a decade or two after their swan-song in their birth place. But two cliches turned into evergreens as slogans: 'Progressive' and 'Socialism', as the wenchy hag, 'democracy' was getting its life's worst in Pakistan's streets and sessions, pressure groups and power elites. Everything was becoming 'special, respectable, middle class, snobbish, elitist, choosy and classy'—really 'bourgeois, decadent and hypocritical', in brief. Just as today much of what we see is a confusing plethora of 'people's bohemia, beat, teddy and hippy' in almost all realms of life—from the cradle to the grave, the home to the street; from politics to very nearly the prayer house.

To harken back to Dickens, it was among the worst of times—despite the handful of courageous lone voices in the wilderness. The contrast was ironic. For obscurantism and decadence — political and 'progressive' (so-called !), were running amuck in all fields of life.

The Reasons Way

It was no longer an age of genuine leaders and courageous men of vision and action. For it was a period of petty yes-men and professional intriguers ; of mere reflectors and receptacles. They worshipped the rising sun, played safe and lay snug, in wait for personal gains and better days. Opportunism and sycophany—personal and political, were rampant. The twin goddess of short-cut money and power was the Pied Piper to whose tunes the spell-bound danced.

The fault was both of the sick, undemocratic system and the system-makers; of the vicious leaders as well as of the passive, victim-led.

The Verdict

In the ultimate analysis, the fault is of the so-called intellectual of Pakistan. Once (before 1947) he was the enlightened leader of both the people and the masses as well as of even the politicians. At least, he was a sound and safe guide and counsel. But after the death of the Quaid-e-Azam, he gradually forgot his pristine role and duty to the nation and to mankind, and became a second fiddle and a yes-man. He was a pawn and server—of cliques, coteries and vested interests; even of individual masters, at times, and of narrow creeds and suffocating credoes. For he had forgotten his himalayan ideals and ideology, values and principles, and his original nationalism and inspiration; his role, objective and aim. He was contented with crumbs and pittances of praise, gilted literary awards and high sounding petty positions of no real consequence. He could be seen, on rare ceremonial occasions, in the halls and corridors of power and authority. He also came out once in a while with clever tricks and technically preened up products. For he was an adept and skilful technician, practitioner and craftsman. But he knew that he was ineffective—for he was largely a spent force and a dried up spring of inspiration.

Wars and Crises

It has been said of us Pakistanis that we tend to be or become a nation of crises. For the best in us has so far come out in wars and crises. We have an unquenchable thirst and lust for life and an indomitable will and spirit to survive. Some of our best literature has been produced as a result of our wars and national crises. But wars and crises are not the general situation of life. And thank God for that! They are neither normal and healthy nor desirable. The nation must, therefore, learn to discover and project its best in normal times of peace and in the absence of crises, as well. That is an enviable and worthy role for its leadership—especially intellectual and literary, to aspire to.

The Writer's Role Today and Tomorrow

The above is some cue to his possible role in the contemporary situation. There is much that the Pakistani journalist, intellectual, scholar, researcher and writer—in all fields, critical, literary, creative and poetic; political, historical, economic, national, international, strategic and defence etc.—can do to promote general and universal detente, peace and order, equality, brotherhood and freedom, at home and abroad. But for that he must have the heart and guts of his pre-partition fore-runners—as also their love of the right, good and truth, their noble value system and principles, their faith, idealism, courage, fortitude, will, vision and character, above all. Too long since independence has the Pakistani writer lent himself to undeserving things, allowed himself to be led by the nose and has signed the dotted line blindly. Even in the best or noblest of causes, e.g. our wars, he has been gaoded into the frenzied stampede rather than to have tried to stand apart and even differ, if necessary. So, when the war-siren was zoomed, we got switched on to support the cause—no doubt, out of the most patriotic of motives, and perhaps because under the circumstances it was absolutely natural and necessary for the

morale of the nation and faith in the cause. When the war was called off and we, too, were switched off, we began to think differently. Only Faiz Ahmed Faiz (and perhaps a few others) could foresee all this and kept quiet. But unfortunately they have never been forgiven for that. Still, they were—and are—men of foresight and vision, who have both the courage to agree when they are convinced, and the guts to differ, according to their lights and better judgment. Here I must hasten to explain that I am not talking of war as a personal agony or as a national cause or crisis—even tragedy. But as a human and universal curse. We need more humanists and men of peace and goodwill. Of belief, faith and conviction. Of courage and fortitude. Of vision and action. Of truth and goodness. Of love and brotherhood. Equality and freedom.

If the Pakistani writer today really wants to have for himself a place in the sun and to play his role for country and mankind effectively, he must rise above himself, look around and forward and grow in the airs and sunshine of freedom. He must learn to prick his own ego-centric bubbles, in all humility, with an open mind and a large heart, which accepts all humanity in its sincere embrace. For there is much more to life than he can ever even dream of.

Every movement in the country since 1947, especially political, has either been manoeuvred by the politician or led by the masses. The writer has only been hoodwinked into the role of a dazed and dazzled camp-follower. That is because he was only a plodding professional and not a genuine intellectual—the teacher and educator, the friend, philosopher and guide, the profound high priest, the enlightened thinkere, the visionary, sage and leader of his society. Being very humane, nationalistic, sensitive, wide-awake and conscientious, he can neither be amoral nor apolitical. There's just no escape from commitment. But that should be to such eternal and universal causes, principles and values as love and humanity, progress, peace and plenty, democracy and freedom,

equality and brotherhood, rather than to narrow creeds and credoes and to politicking of the petty, the personal, the partisan and the parochial.

The 1970s

Perhaps we can now end on an optimistic note with the statement that much of this humanism and concern for the future and peace of the world and mankind is as discernible in our literature of the 1970s, especially since 1971, as are the echoes and reverbrations of the 1947-48, 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pak Wars, the Fall of Dacca, the Dismemberment of Pakistan, and the menace of Indian Nuclear Expansionism. For Pakistan has matured and come of age. It is seasoned, sensible and well-set on the road to peace, progress and prosperity !

Another apt ending might be some of my poem appended below, which reflect the moods, thoughts and feelings referred to in the foregoing pages.

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Poems by IKRAM AZAM

(i) **From his : "SONS OF THE SOIL"**

Ageless **1**

Untouched by time, disease and suffering
I am ageless, I am young !
So say my habitual smiles !
Unaffected by sin, regret or sadness
I am still free from guilt and gall
I am naive, I am innocent !
So proclaim my blind hope and faith my incurable optimism !
But Life's Mirror on Memory's wall and Time's barometer
Mock, tease, tear off my smiles and charge—
'You self-deceiver, you liar unto self deep down below
The skin-deep mask of smiles and shallow surfaces
Lie festering, cancerous scars
How long can you bolt from them
How long deny the truth?'
Yes! How long ? I ask myself !
And with a shrugg of shoulders the habitual answer comes :
Well as long as life ekes on
For life must have its way
With hope and faith or without them
But better the former—
Such is our instinctive wont
Such is our choice, alternative
For there's no other way out to sheer survival
What with the cages within and bars outside !
The soul of peace, happiness and freedom
The spirit of love and liberty
Though choking and menaced
Still gasp and flutter and soar
Despite all the scars, stains and shackles
For it is still ageless and ever young !

——

(ii) **From his : "POEMS FROM PAKISTAN"**

An Anthem **2**

You memories and heart-aches of the past !
Stay still, lie muffled and low
You've had your day and shall have more to come !
Now history repeats itself !
Lo ! Life starts another cycle !
This is a time for dedication-Not dirges
So I must sing of love and peace in war
Global fraternity and brotherhood
Even as and while I must fight and wage a holy war for them !
My songs, devotionals and anthems must change to tenser,
tougher strains
And I must exhort our patriots
To live and fight for the nation and its cause !
Aye ! To live even in this hour of death
Yes Live
(And die only if it must be)
Kill, kill all evil, kill foul death
And war and live for peace !
{ To be martyred is another thing
For that is life everlasting, not death ! }
To-day my songs have assumed another note, another strain
As I dip my pen in the blood of my heart
And sing of war and peace
As tomorrow, I know
I will dip it in my memories and heart-aches
New and old
To write of peace and peace alone, and love and brotherhood
For today I'm panting for life
I'm fighting in self-defence
And have no other choice
But tomorrow-by this act of valour
I would have reestablished my inalienable right to life eternal !
O victory and peace are nigh !

——

(iii) **From his : "AFTER OUR FALL"**

After the Fall **3**

One of the lessons
In fact, the lesson that I learnt
From the fall of Dacca
Was that I'll never know fear again
I'll NEVER be afraid of the truth
Of seeking and facing the truth
Of telling the brazen truth
No matter how bitter it be
No matter how painful the price !
I'll never take wrong and injustice
I'll never stand violence and hate
I'll never be a silent spectator
Wallow vanquished, licking my wounds !
With a mind and heart wide open
I'll seek peace and love universal
Fraternity and brotherhood eternal
Among all humanity !
Aye ! I'll never know fear again
I'll never be afraid of the truth !
With outstretched hands around the globe
We will lasso brown, black and white
As these hands hold firm and fast
And bind mankind into one
Uniting in a brotherly embrace !
With this love-ring, halo around humans
O I'll never know fear again
A kin to all humanity
I'll never be afraid of the truth !

——

(iv) Form his : "AFTER OUR FALL"

The Pakistani 4

I am neither a Punjabi nor Sindhi
Neither Kashmiri, Baluchi nor Pathan
For I am all of these
I am a Pakistani !
My heart is big enough to nestle all
Aye ! To contain much more besides
For I am a Muslim
And love, peace and brotherhood
Are my religion and creed, my mission and crusade !
So let us, one and all, my dear compatriots
Join hands and work in unison
To build up a new Pakistan of our dreams
A progressive and prosperous Pakistan
Of peace and plenty, of equality and fraternity
For ever and ever more !
I am neither black nor white
Yellow nor brown, pink, red nor green
Left, right nor middle of the way
Asian, African nor any other kind
For I am a Pakistani
A Muslim and a human being
Broad-minded, large-hearted and open-minded
And in love with humanity itself !
Then let us, fellow humans the world over
Join hands and heads and hearts
To work united, untiring by
For love and peace on earth; plenty, progress, prosperity
Brotherhood and equality; truth, justice and fraternity
For ever and ever more !

——

(iv) **From his : "SHADOWS BY MOONLIGHT"**

Go Prisoner Homeward **5**

Though an enemy, a so-called enemy
I know you are no brute
But a fellow human being, a soldier
Helpless at the hands of passions and politicians alike
Our hates like our loves are not of our choosing
And in a mob-ridden world the individual has no any !
Well, whatever it was—it is, they say, some peace now
Then take to your wings, fly away, fly away
Go prisoner homewards
For you, too, are somebody's heart beat
A son, a brother, a husband, a father, a lover
A hearth, a home, a loving family awaits you !
And should you find my brother
Or any compatriot or son from this land
Tell him the dear ones are pining
Praying and endlessly waiting
And saying so, break open his bars
To let him hurry home, hurry home !
Go prisoner homewards to spread tidings of peace !
Go brother homewards and send our dear ones back !

——

(iv) **From his : "SHADOWS BY MOONLIGHT"**

Who Has Won The War? **6**

Heads you lose tails I win
Low-land I lose, high-land you win
We go back from where we begin
Each time the endless vicious circle is taken up afresh
Pandora's boxes spring open
Fresh trouble is added to the store
New issues cry riddle me, riddle me ree
Latest problems have their spree
So there's a plethora of peace, panaceas
Contending with a profusion of ills
As we sit around tables of conferences
Hair-splitting and quibbling with words
The merry-go-round, see-saw and the slide
Give peace makers such a jolly good ride !
Up and down, round and round the ruts and the starts
We ask, who has won the war
Neither I nor you, yet all of us
For we've each gained an inch and lost a yard
Not to talk of all the 'moral gains' and the blood of our martyrs shed !
But we are all the wiser, more peaceful for it
Till we trigger off once before long
On how to maintain peace—or some such thing
Or on : who has won the war !

——

(iv) **From his : "SHADOWS BY MOONLIGHT"**

The Mourner 7

Congenital mourners we are all
But mine is a life of muffled mourning shrouded in smiles
Such is my fate which I can't alter with all my love and longing !
Keep tearing at my soul beloved
Prometheus must have his circling hosts to feed
The pelican its bleeding breast !
No ! No ! I don't complain !
For I'm a destined mourner
So why complain, whom to complain
I have no guardian angels, no protecting friends
No avenging deities !
Mine is a world of habitual inflictions
Umpired by dope gods sitting on the fence
And changing sides constantly from worse to worst !
We have our natural roles to play and loads to carry
Of tormentors and tormented
Of duties villainous, virtues villifying
Of consciences dead, alive, healing or atrophied
Of souls maimed, hearts crippled wlth guilt
Or wronged by grace and goodness
By love which mocks at peace !
Then heed me not beloved
Unless it be to plant fresh daggers in my breast
To mourn over, as fuel to feed me on !
See ! How ineffectual is my love or how effective villainously
For you leave me to my moans

Not for pleasure or ambition or other loves
But for the love of us !
And how fruitful is your act of grace
Fresh cinders sprout forth at my heavy heart
Like pomegranate buds and beads full red !
I am the soil stampeded by your love
Which bends to everything but me
For we have our ordained roles to play and loads to carry
Of tormentors and tormented
And I'm a congenital mourner who has no avenging deities
But dope gods sitting on the fence
And changing sides constantly !

——

(iv) **From his : "SHADOWS BY MOONLIGHT"**

The Cross **8**

His was the easier way
A miraculous life and death and life again, they say !
We are mortals, not saints or deities
So ours are immortal agonies
Life-long—and in the hereafter, too
If the Judge decrees to punish sins committed in time
With agonies measuring immortality itself !
What super-human justice !
Our justices are chicken-hearted-neither grand nor spectacular
For we have our own crosses to carry
We, the crucified, on the crucifix of life
With no miracles wrought, no times cut short
Or lives restored, and no helping hands !
For those who go part of the way half-heartedly
In the name of love or the like
Only mock, leer and desert
Leaving heavy chains of aches clinging around our hearts
And loads of memories dark dragging at our feet
Or poisonous darts of sorrows planted in our minds
That last for times more unending than eternity itself !
For ours are protracted agonies of gods fallen to the lot of
mortal men
And our crosses are non-miraculous crosses of puny humans
Puppets and playthings
Of the deities within us — Love and the like
Or of those outside — we — each other
Petty, fleaish men eager to enslave their kind !

——

(iv) **From his : "SHADOWS BY MOONLIGHT"**

These Gods **9**

The old gods ! Where are they ?
Ah ! Huddled tight in some cosy niche
Dope addicts snoring away so callously
At our woes and wails
And when perchance they blink their slit eyes a little
Eyes drunk with the power of impotence and senile decay and atrophy—
All, all vagaries of time :
Time conquers all — even the gods ;
Yes, the chance blink is cast only to bestow fresh wrath on groaning man !
Fie ! Fie on old gods — they exist only to torment !
So let man, the maker of myths and gods
The almighty creator, the duped idolater
Be iconoclast in transition, just for a change, at least
And pull down old images
Blasting them with one manly stroke into the sea of doom
To erect new idols, new deities, new soothsayers
New villains, new betrayers
Eager to pillory man with more scientific wrongs !
For such has been the lot through aeons
Of this simpleton, this creator and destroyer of images !
When will he stop this puerile game
And be mature enough to create men, raise humans
Instead of angelic deities and gods — No, not of love
But of perfidious vengeance ensuing no guilt ?!

——

(iv) **From his : "SHADOWS BY MOONLIGHT"**

Of Christ and Joseph **10**

I am not blasphemous !
Yet I am Christ and Joseph, too
And all the betrayed innocents suffering for love and man
Yes ! I am "C" and "J"
"C" and "J" not as "C" and "J"
That is, not as themselves, not as individuals
But as symbols of suffering humanity
And of man's inhumanness to man !
Cliches ! Ah ! But how true, how very agonising !
I am "C" and "J" !
Not as I, not as myself
But as them reborn
As humanity in its chains of cyclic, changing continuity
As all the good and evil of the world reincarnated !
Such, after all, is the poet's spirit !
And does not history repeat itself ?
I am . . . .
Ah ! You are sad
You, my beloved
And you my counterpart
You, too, my friend and brother !
You are dumb and sullen ! But what for ?
It was you, wasn't it, and yours was the act
Indefinable for uncaused
Of love - hate - vengeance - reward
This was the blood you shed, still warm and sparkling fluid
Here are the silver pieces that you won
And here the thorny crown, nailed crucifix
All proof of your victory exists !
Then why do you sulk ?
Dissatisfied, insatiable—already brooding on fresh conquests ?
No ?

Then are you crying o'er the spilt milk
I mean the blood that trickles
Down from my nose, eyes, brow and mouth
Not to speak of the heart ?
This is your victory dear—great, glorious and vermillion !
You did the deed and thrust me on to others
To enemies who now must take their turn
A natural consequence of your loving act !
Ah ! I see ! You are sorry because you've lost me
And can not flay me more !
But no ! I'm yours, still yours, all yours
Open to your attacks !
How can the enemies hurt one more than friends ?
Grieve not, beloved !
For I'm still I—I am still "C" and "J"
And you are still all you
Man still is extant
So evil has its sway !

———

(iv) **From his : "SHADOWS BY MOONLIGHT"**

My Fate **11**

I have appeared before in time—I have always appeared
I appear in the present — And shall continue to !
I am in every heart for every heart is in mine
My fate is pain and agony
I must suffer the ills of life
The burden of man weighs heavy on my soul ;
Of his nobility and villainy
His hopes and aspirations, his trials and tribulations
And the vicissitudes of his nature and fortune
Of his sufferings and sorrows, his struggles, triumphs and defeats
Must my lyrics and dirges be
Such is my fate !
There is agony, torture, torment of soul and spirit in my lot
My heart must bleed and drown sorrows of self
In o'er-brimming sorrows of others !
I am happy, too — But in snatches
In attainment and expectany of slight success !
But for the most I must pain, bleed and struggle on for all—
For I am a poet — Such is my fate !

——

(iv) From his : "SHADOWS BY MOONLIGHT"

Creation 12

I create, I continue to create—
When Creation itself has failed !
I create fantasies and illusions beautiful
Of reality
Reality that is baneful and ugly
And should best be changed
So I create not for escape
But to usher in a world
More charming O! than this
And a love more peaceful
And creative still ever more !
For I am sick of futility
And things destructive, morbid, insane !
Come let us return to the norm
Through love of life
A love that's born of elements above
Is mortal still
Still God-like ever more !
I create, I continue to create
When Creation itself seems to fail !

——

Pakistan's Foreign Policy Since 1971

The emergence of Bangladesh (1971) and the Indian Nuclear explosion (1974) are two very important and interlinked recent events, facts and factors which have remoulded the foreign policy of Pakistan. Let us discuss these in the stated and chronological order.

Bangladesh

To some extent, a country's foreign policy reflects its national state of affairs, 'inner health' and domestic thinking. For the former to be successful, the latter has to be confident and creative. Bangladesh left us badly mauled and bleeding. That required a quick, life-saving operation to sustain the country within and restore its image abroad.

To dilate on this point a little, the creation of Bangladesh rendered this nation not just defeated, split up and torn apart physically and politically, what is worse, it paralysed its morale, life-force, spirit to survive and lust for life. The Pakistan felt aghast, shocked, defeated, petrified, bewildered and lost. The greatest challenge was that our very basis, i.e. the Two Nation Theory and our ideology, began to be questioned. Our survival and viability came to be doubted. The

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To dilate on this point a little, the creation of Bangladesh rendered this nation not just defeated, split up and torn apart physically and politically, what is worse, it poisoned its morale, life-force, spirit to survive and lust for life. For Pakistan felt aghast, shocked, defeated, petrified, bewildered and lost. The greatest challenge was that our very basis, e.g. the Two Nation Theory and our Ideology, began to be questioned. Our survival and viability came to be doubted. Our

image abroad got tarnished. We were completely under cloud. All this, to a slight extent, got unavoidably reflected in our foreign policy. Also the uncertainty, the misgivings and the pessimism.

But thanks to the nation's inherent life-force, health and will to survive, manifest and preserved in its culture and religion, ideology and way of life, unity, faith and discipline, we survived and emerged out of that trauma and tragedy, the stronger and more resilient for them. The fast changing events gave us fresh hope and a new lease of life. Pakistan's tarnished image began to be corrected by the overwhelming General Assembly vote and veto in our favour. That turned the tables on India ; and proved that we were, after all, more sinned against than sinning. We were not victors. But we were no longer aggressors, either. We were, simply and tragically, victims. We capitalised on this verdict and theme, well, in order to consolidate old friendships and make new friends. This helped us to boost the sagging morale and tend the frayed nerves of the nation, and restored it from dejection and defeatism to hope and faith in the New Pakistan. Success in these efforts raised our self-confidence at home and heightened our respect abroad.

All crises call for cool rethinking, self-analysis and introspection. Pakistan reviewed and reappraised its own position quickly and took a new look at itself. It was very much a question of our very survival and continued, certain existence. How best to survive : was the one question that gnawed and nibbled at us constantly. Along with that quick, constant, penetrating look at ourselves, old alignments were taken stock of, while new ones were also considered.

First of all, after the initial setback, the awesome realisation of our changed – and consolidated—geopolitical and strategic position and economic and political viability—dawned on us. It was a strange new feeling, awe-inspiring and frightening. On the one hand, we thought that a vital limb had been chopped

off our person and we felt dnuded; on the other, we were more compact and close-knit. What to do with this forceful fact and almost fiendish feeling ? We decided to channelise its creativity, to the protection, realisation and fulfilment of this New Pakistan. To guarding its frontiers and sovereignty as a new geopolitical, south-west Asian rather than a Far Eastern entity. For Pakistan had suddenly become a more 'mid-east' rather than South or South-East Asian nation—geopolitically, economically, culturally, and religiously. But we were determined to retain our traditional bonds and interests even there. We might have lost geographical links in East Pakistan, but our historical, cultural, political, economic and religious ties with it and with the rest of southern Asia and the Far East, would remain. We could not allow a geographical loss and defeat to turn into a political one, also. Our continuing and developing relations with our Muslim brothers and the Islamic Summit in 1974, have helped Pakistan not only to strengthen its own traditional ties with them, but also to consolidate the Muslim bloc and brotherhood. It was not merely a show of our inherent strength to the rest of the world, especially our adversaries.

That was our own initial struggle for survival during those dark and menacing days. But we owe much of our success also to the continued goodwill and abiding friendship of our friends and allies. The Muslim world and our R.C.D. partners cannot be forgotten. So far as the big world powers go, it is an established historical fact that China has stood by us through thick and thin and in our greatest trials and tribulations and darkest hours. It is a dependable friend, in future, also. But realism demands that we learn to accept that now both its options and its ability to intervene, are limited. America has its own problems and commitments. Russian interest in this region and these areas is sure, forceful and persistent. We must not over-burden our friends and place them in embarrassing situations. We must learn to acquire self-reliance and self-confidence. Our struggle for survival is essentially a fight for

time—much on our own—fully realising that any backing of us by a friend or ally has its inherent and circumstantial limitations. So we must beg, borrow, steal, buy or grab time, as best and as peacefully as we can.

Turning to the world immediately around us, we know that Iran and India today are two big and emerging regional powers to reckon with. Enlightened self-interest, Muslim brotherhood and regional peace demand that we do everything reasonable and possible to retain the friendship of the former-largely on the basis of established and growing common interests. We are too small, poor and weak now to assume the leadership of this region. We respect China's natural right to the leadership of the East, of the third world and of Afro-Asia. We are also mindful of the strength, power and influence for good, of the U.S.S.R. Pakistan is keen to cement its cordial and friendly relations with it. Iran, by virtue of its statesmanship, progress, development and wealth, has a right to a share in the leadership of this zone. We, on our part, would be humbly and gratefully content to be the peace makers and servers of the mankind of these areas. We would love to be the friends of all, including India—without, of course, compromising our principles, rights, sovereignty, equal status and fundamental issues like Kashmir. We believe in detente on equal terms and without capitulation. We are set on the course of peace and now nothing can deflect us. But we are in no hurry. For we know that the road to peace is a trying and difficult one. Sometimes normalisation tends to drag its feet and test one's nerves. That should not discourage us. That will only buy us time to fend for peace. So long as we are clear about and firm on our objectives, time will bend our way, gradually.

Because of its changed geopolitical position, it is but natural for Pakistan to be much interested in Indo-Iran, Indo-Soviet, Indo-Afghan, Sino-Soviet and Russo-Afghan relations. They are all our neighbours. We want to retain their interest,

goodwill and friendship, also. With mutual conciliation and concessions, that should not be difficult. Phased out (trade and transit) facilities on either side could be of mutual benefit to all. Provided : (i) they promote our national objectives and interests; and (ii) do not jeopardise our relations with friends and allies. But that would necessitate counsel and consultations with abiding friends and all concerned. All this might be necessary : (i) for the sheer survival and enlightened self-interest of one and all the nations concerned ; (ii) detente and peace in the region (iii) out of realism, and (iv) as a projection of our policy of peaceful bilateralism.

The Indian Explosion

A new challenge and a menacing factor has been recently introduced on the scene. India's nuclear power and potential have added a greater threat to our struggle for survival, to peace in this region and so, to our foreign policy—which becomes our *instrument for such survival and peace*. For the Indian menace is not just a threat to Pakistan. It is an Afro-Asian menace, a third world colossus. It is in this context that the valiant defenders and soldiers of Pakistan have to remain ever wary and vigilant and to stand guard on the peace of this region. That is what one would mean by calling Pakistan the *Switzerland of the East*; and our citizens, civilians and soldiers, alike, the Crusaders for Peace.

We can now turn to what one may term *our Nuclear Policy*, for this, in many ways, will form the corner-stone of our *foreign policy*. One could sound a note of caution and clarification here. For we do not want Pakistan to be misunderstood as going rabid, militant, jingoistic, bellicose or militaristic. It is our national objective to prevent nuclear proliferation in this region. Thus, '*Atoms for Peace*' is an article of faith with us. Progress and nuclear technology are synonymous today. There is no antithesis or contradiction in our nuclear policy, for both our atoms for peace programme

and our earnest endeavours to have South Asia and the Afro-Asian Ocean preserved as a *Nuclear-Free and Peace Zone*, are motivated and inspired by our burning desire for peace. That is our faith, that is our ideology and that is our religion. In our minds and motives, as in our policy and programme, we have struck a balance between efforts to get this region declared a nuclear-free zone and to protect our right to use nuclear power for peace, progress and economic development. It should be our endeavour to seek the friendship and cooperation of all nations which think similarly and which will help us in the attainment of these objectives. Our efforts at the U.N. and around the globe, are already yielding results.

However, we cannot profess, much less is to preach, peace abroad, unless we first have peace at home. More democratic and settled conditions at home will not only give us more time to concentrate on foreign affairs, they will also narrow the credibility gap in our reputation within and outside the country, and consolidate our position and prestige abroad. Let us hope, pray and try earnestly that conditions at home normalise soon, so that emergency provisions are rendered redundant. All this should, resultantly, strengthen our hands to pursue our peaceful foreign policy more confidently and successfully.

National and international compulsions and our altered and trimmed geopolitical position have added a new dimension and a forceful angle to our foreign policy. First, the acceptance of the fact of Bangladesh, and then, the recognition of this reality, have made us realistic, pragmatic and practical. In brief, now our foreign policy (should) rest(s) firmly on (i) realism, (ii) pacifism and peaceful co-existence, (iii) regionalism and (iv) peaceful bilateralism which encourages us to be friendly with one and all, big and small, without getting involved in their differences, especially of the big powers. The restoration of ties with Bangladesh and persistent efforts at detente with India are proof enough of all these principles, especially of our realism and peacefulness. If I might say so, with the going of military

rule from Pakistan, our foreign policy is now more democratic rather than militaristic. Gone also are the days of our blues and of pessimism. With these basic working principles to guide us, seasoned statesmanship, skillful maneouvering and time, we can, reasonably, hope to succeed in holding our own, defending our sovereignty, preserving our identity and ensuring our strength and progress.

Now let us turn to the Impact of the India Nuclear Explosition on the foreign policy of Pakistan. Let us state straightaway that the foreign policy of Pakistan has changed since 1971. For now it should be firmly based on sound rational and realistic principles and a scientific analysis of the changed facts and existing situation.

The Indian explosion, instead of scaring and cornering Pakistan has further emphasised the validity of the working principles of our foreign and nuclear policy, and made us more confident. That is because we know that we are in the truth and our cause is just. The world conscience is wide-awake and with us. We have simply *refused* to let India subject us to Nuclear Blackmail. We realise that we are a small nation. We know that we cannot fight the wind-mills. That, precisely, is the secret of our success and the way to our salvation. Our strength lies not in defeatism and capitulation but in the **REALISATION** of our present inherent or acquired weakness. And in putting it to good use, with courage, fortitude and wisdom. Our key instrument is diplomacy—the diplomacy of peace and friendship with all. Detente is only second best, at the most, for we believe in positive peace and friendship. Islam preaches universal peace and brotherhood. With Islam to inspire and guide us, there is no reason why we should not succeed.

After the Indian explosion, as was to be expected, our struggle for survival and our rightful place in the sun has become more acute. Efforts are being made both at home and abroad to consolidate the nation. These have, of necessity, to go hand in hand. National Security—which is one major

objective of any foreign policy—is not quite feasible or successful without national integration—through political and economic democracy in Pakistan.

We in Pakistan have also : (i) come to realise that it is not always possible nor even desirable to 'fight it out over things' ; (ii) to believe in peaceful, patient, persuasive and persistent negotiations and reasoning, (iii) to give democracy an honest chance ; and (iv) to grant the armed forces their rightful place, thus enabling them to perform their duty by the nation, wisely and well; and not to indulge in politicking.

Indian nuclearism has enhanced the importance of the defence of Pakistan and the rightful role of the armed forces in it. Therefore, it devolves on the forces to be ever-ready, wary and vigilant. They have to be modern and scientific, professional and nationalistic, patriotic and Pakistani. The whole nation has to be made defence-conscious, defence-oriented and defence-worthy. Our *foreign policy* has to become defence and *security-oriented*. For we have to build up our defences, seek arms and look for protecting friends and allies—in peace and war.

Another change has also occurred in the new Pakistan. Being placed at international corss-roads, we have to stand guard to the peace of this entire area and look watchfully on all sides. Pakistan's interests among its neighbours have to be scanned carefully. Whether out of scare, security, self-defence or imitation, a possible arms rat-race, nuclear proliferation and unholy inroads into the peace of this region, have got to be prevented. From global strategists, events have turned us into regional strategists. Regional alignments and the Muslim brotherhood need to be concretised and strengthened. The focus of world opinion on Indian nuclearism and De-democratisation—which may well be a prelude to continued but greater expansionism—cannot relax. For such vigilance is necessary not just for Pakistan's survival but also for the peace of this region and of Afro-Asia.

Pakistan's foreign policy has to be *nuclear-oriented*. We believe, both in (i) atoms for peace, and in (ii) nuclear-free zones and non-proliferation. We must also firmly believe in friendship with all, including the big powers, India, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. For all will have to cooperate and contribute effectively to ensure peace in this region. But much as we might believe most sincerely in and profess peace, this being an imperfect and human world, we simply cannot relax on the question of our defences. "Defence for and of peace", "Pakistan, the Crusader of Peace" and "the Switzerland of the East" can be our new policy mottos. Let us conclude by declaring that in the final analysis, it is not mottos, wishes, slogans and ideals, alone, which ensure a nation's survival. This is an age, both of ideas, ideals and ideologies, and of action. Of precepts practised. Ultimately it will be the **superior ideology put to practice,** which will determine our destiny. For it is a struggle of ideas and ideologies rather than a battle of arms. Ours is an ideological state. We just cannot exist without a practicable, progressive and practised ideology. Islam is our faith, religion and way of life. We believe in the Islamic Ideology manifest in Islamic Democracy, Islamic Secularism, Islamic Socialism and the Islamic Welfare State. We are challenged and surrounded by so-called material secularism—or materialistic expansionism in the garb of varied rosy names. We have to work hard and ceaselessly to make our ideals come true. To ensure peace, progress, plenty and prosperity in this region.

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The Generation Gap and Pakistan's Ideological Strategy

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Introduction

When Zia Mohi-Uddin, the famous film and T.V. star and compere, touched the subject of the generation gap in Pakistan, a few years ago in one of his popular T.V. programmes, it raised a storm of protest in the press and among the T.V. viewers. Opinions were divided ; but it was generally felt that he was trying to imagine things and create a problem where actually none existed, by importing a post World War II western fad and cliche. I, too, thought the same.

A Natural Phenomenon

Not that the phenomenon did not exist in our society. To some extent, it is natural, historical, necessary and justified. All through the human history, there has existed such a gap between the generations, for just as individuals differ, so do generations. Without that, there would be no progress and development. Society would be reduced to a strait-jacket, a stereotype and a regimentation.

In Pakistan

Returning home to Pakistan, we, too, have had our generation gaps. To quote just one example, in the pre-partition days, politically speaking, we had the die-hard British toadies and vamps, and their opponents, the rebels and fearless freedom fighters of the Pakistan Movement. A few years ago, the so-called 'hippies' among our youth roused us to a more menacing aspect of the generation gap. We chose to ignore Zia Mohi-Uddin's jesting feeler only because the 'problem' appeared to be skin-deep and as a fleeting and fanciful imitation of films, fashions and magazines. It was confined to a microscopic minority of the progeny of the very rich and the extremely poor, each degraded by its affluence and idleness, on the one hand, and slums, shanty towns, squalour and ghettos, on the other.

The Transformation

Fashions, be they in thinking or in expression, e.g , in dress, styles and mannerism, have the most pervasive and persuasive demonstration effect. 'Hippism' in our society, too, which started as an innocent prank, playfulness and the attempt to appear different, soon caught on, especially in the immediate social and educational circles of movement and contact and sphere of influence of its protagonists.

The Present Form

The generation gap has now assumed the more serious and deep-rooted form of a protest and rebellion against the older generations and the society, generally. It is a cry of anguish and disappointment against their failure, hypocrisy, cant and decadence. A protest against being let down and betrayed by them. For the seniors and the society have failed them on many counts.

East and West : A Comparison

The western youth and hippy are fed up of their soulless materialism, and trek their way to the East, seeking 'nirvana' and salvation in its exotic, alluring and mystic asceticism. Their eastern counterparts are fed up of both their dead and decadent traditions, and their endless poverty generated by the present corrupt order and sagging economy. They want to escape to the West in search of democracy and all that it stands for—personal and collective liberty and security, civic rights and economic prosperity.

Prevalent Manifestations

The generation gap in Pakistan today, be it potential or actual, ideational or sentimental, as a sort of restlessness in the mind or of the spirit, potentially creative or menacing, manifests itself in many different forms, ways and means. To some extent this restlessness—within the personality or expressed in words, deeds and actions, covert at home—though even a worry there, or overt on the street or campus, is a part of growing-up It is passing, necessary, unavoidable and quite understandable. As such, it can be taken in the stride, even while the parents, teachers and society remain wary and vigilant about the youth generally, especially during their formative years. Even so, the generation gap is most manifest and noticeable in the following main forms :

(i) General restlessness, aimlessness and petty social evils or minor anti-social activity. Hippism.

(ii) Agitational politics, coupled with escapism from studies and disillusioned idealism in utopian politics.

(iii) Brain drain.

Those who can, escape abroad, preferably to the West or the oil-rich Middle East, for studies or in search of jobs. Many qualified young girls and boys already abroad, don't like

to return home, because of the prospects and social, personal and intellectual freedom there—and the absence of them back home—and the consequent disillusionment. Those who cannot find their way out to their havens, dream worlds and Shangrillas, continue to suffer in their mother-land either silently or demonstratively, depending largely on the political situation in the country and the political opportunism it breeds.

The Remedy

Before we think of ways and means to subvert, rationalise, tackle creatively or channelise the problem, or preferably, the phenomenon, of the generation gap, let us try to analyse its main causes. It is not possible to suggest remedies without first knowing the causes of any problem. But it can be said straight away that a whole ideological strategy on a national level and scale would be required to tackle this issue. Not just because it is so massive, wide-spread, threatening or impossible to deal with. But more simply because it concerns our youth—the potential and future architects of this nation.

The Major Causes

To my mind, the main causes of the generation gap or the gulf in the thinking, beliefs, ideas, principles, values, motivation, ideals, norms, mores, outlook, behaviour and forms and ways of life of the various generations in our country, are as follows:

(i) *Ideological:* As stated earlier, some years ago the matter was more freakish and faddish than serious and spiritually disconcerting. That was despite the tragically traumatic experience of the debacle, defeat and dismemberment of Pakistan. Of course, the basic disillusionment, because of those facts and factors, had set in. But the situation had been saved somewhat and there was, still, something to

live and hope for. Nonetheless, the Two Nation Theory, the very basis, *raison d'etere* and validity of Pakistan and all the fundamental and basic issues, the set and settled questions, were dug up and agitated again. The very justification of our existence and survival, our right to live as a nation, were questioned. This was the intellectual subversion and the psy-war perpetrated and perpetuated on us, even after the Indo-Pak war of 1971 was over. Our ideological basis and viability were put in the dock. In brief, our ideology began to be torn apart once again—this time in Pakistan itself. The Indians, of course, had never got reconciled to the creation of Pakistan. They have always been scheming to undo it. Their dismemberment of it through subversion, sabotage and armed aggression in East Pakistan encouraged them and made them bolder. In Pakistan this ideological subversion took the popular forms of campus discontentment, agitational politics among students, youth unrest and even the renewed bogy of provincialism raising its head in the form of the 'nationalities' issue. Parochial and sectarian feelings are very easy to fan. But the most shocking and dangerous trend is towards questioning the very ideology of Pakistan—its validity and justification. Some of our so-called politicians, press-men and intellectuals, in a spurt of new fangled liberalism-cum-defeatism, have had no small hand in this. Naturally, the germs caught on. Our impressionable youth, especially those abroad, are still suffering from the hang-over of this ideological germ war and drug strategy.

(ii) *Culturally*, too, the position is as confused as ever. We have yet not been able to discover and define our culture, evaluate our cultural heritage and take pride in it. We are still thinking in terms of nationalities

and provinces rather than *the Nation*. We pride in learning French, German and Russian (and there is basically nothing wrong with that), rather than Urdu, Sindhi, Pushto, Punjabi, Baluchi and Kashmiri. Young and old, we are torn between the East and West, the old and new, the ancient and modern, the conventional-traditional-conservative and the contemporary and ultra-modern, the material and spiritual, the vulgar and the aesthetic, the secular and the mundane, the profane and the holy, etc., etc., ad-infinitum. The rich have made an expensive fad of the 'awami' or national dress; the poor are driven to the second-hand jeans and tea-shirts of American charity.

Such cultural confusion is bound to disillusion the youth.

(iii) *Politically*, we were at the tether's end when the present government stepped in. Undoubtedly, it inherited the proverbial Pandora's box and hornet's nest. The loss of faith in our politics and politicians was almost complete when the PPP took over in December, 1971. Unfortunately, it has done nothing much, according to many, to redeem its election-time and manifesto-made pledges and promises. This has added to the general loss of faith and disillusionment, especially among our youth. Thanks to the PPP, both the people and the younger generations are very wide awake, politically. Nothing escapes their critically scanning eyes : they notice and judge everything ; they are no longer as naive, gullible and trusting as they used to be. In fact, they are now over-critical and suspicious, not trusting anything, because they feel that they have been betrayed so long, so often, and by so many. This loss of faith in the older generations of rulers has made them rigid and unrelenting, uncompromising and hard.

(iv) **Economically.** the price-hikes, the joblessness and scarcities] coupled with the population explosion, have made our youth panicky and jittery. When they note the extent of unemployment among the educated, they see no point in education, and fear for their own prospects and future. Nepotism, favouritism, sectarianism and parochialism in getting and retaining jobs, and things like ad-hoc appointments and lateral entries sans merit are an eye-sore and a heart-burn. They regard the promised welfare state a myth and mirage, a big joke on their credibility. The cost of living, whatever the reasons and justification, all around, is galloping and increasing spirally. The standards of living are falling to the slums. The youth are not so much interested in reasons, as in the results. And they are quite capable of distinguishing between actual causes and fabricated reasons.

(v) **Personally** the youth have their own problems. Of growing up, of education and fees, of pocket money and clothes, of appearances and expenses, of hobbies, entertainment and pastimes; emotional problems and personality traits. Social adjustment and human relations. Family ties and traditional strait-jackets, strictures and do's and dont's. At times they find these very restrictive and even suffocating. So they revolt. Personal relations and family demands and adjustments are not always easy to manage. There is also the question of personal identity and collective and cultural identity. It is something not very easy to discover. Unfortunately, there are no provisions for youth guidance and counselling in our society. The family and its usual circles are not always very understanding or amenable. The youth don't know where or whom to turn to. They feel lost. Sometimes they fall under wrong influences—personal, partisan

and political or "religious", (so-called). That adds to their chaotic dilemma.

The Net Result

The overall result of all these provocative causes is disillusionment or a loss of faith in the past—and present—its institutions and ideals ; and loss of hope in the future. The damage is all-pervasive and near-total. For institutions include politics and political parties, the government, the school, the family and the home, in fact, the society itself, including its religion. And ideals mean the society's whole set of values, way of life, and code of ethics and behaviour, including its political ideals and national ideology. This mutation is startling, to say the least.

Of course, the youth do realise that the fault is not so much or fundamentally with the institutions and ideals, as with the generations which control, dominate and try to run them. These generations have lost their credibility. In fact, the credibility gap becomes almost insurmountable with the passage of time. Because of their breach of promises and the gulf between the words and deeds of these peers, the youth disclaim and disown them as wilful hypocrites and betrayers. They now question their right 'to rule the roost' ; and would themselves like to take over and give society a more honest and clean, practicable and realistic set of values and ideals, better people and, therefore, better chances of survival and success—and thus, a fresh lease of life.

The Fault

The fault is not that of any individual or two, or of any particular party or junta. It is not of these hard and difficult times of global expensiveness. It is of the system which breeds, patronises and perpetuates monetary, intellectual and moral dishonesty and incompetence. It is of the society which hides its own inefficiency and cant under the garb of a dead

order of values. It is also the fault of our failing political and educational system which has resulted in such a colossal sense of loss of direction and identity—personal and social, collective and national. It is a loss of faith in our ideological foundations and basis, in the ultimate analysis, and of our cultural heritage. Loss of faith also in our economic and political identity, viability and future. The youth feel that they have been misled and misused so often that now they cannot trust anybody. They would rather be their own leaders.

This is extremely disturbing. As stated earlier, our youth are the saviours and guardians of this nation in the near, if not immediate, future. We cannot afford to lose them. They must be retrieved at all costs. What, then, is the way out ?

The Way Out : Ideological Strategy

Let us begin by admitting that the fault is ours—of the older generations. Drugged by prestige, power and authority, the older ruler-generations of elders, ignored to establish rapport with the youth, elicit their goodwill, understanding and cooperation, and ceased to grow with the times. They got fossilised in recollections and reassertions of their authoritarian past. What is most necessary is that they wake up to the present situation and its reality, its problems, needs, requirements and priorities. So the first step would be that the seniors and elders accept the youth as a national fact, asset, responsibility, factor and pressure group to reckon with. They should become large-hearted, open-minded and receptive. And then to march with the ever-changing times. In other words, to wake up, grow and behave like grown-ups, with an attitude of humble acceptance of the facts and realities of life. To be ever-ready and prepared to gradually hand over leadership to their juniors. To democratically and judiciously preside over the liquidation of their own hegemony. For such is the way of life, down the ages in history. 'The old order changeth, yielding place to the new' !

Kinds Of Youth

Ours is still, *basically*, a traditional society, despite all the generation gaps, wherein the conventional ties and values are respected. The youth still extend courteous regards and respect to their seniors, for age, status and relationship. That makes our society fundamentally sound, stable and viable. But this does not mean that there is no need or scope for change, reform or improvement. Beyond the traditional and conventional, the blood ties and the human relationships, the elders must learn to deserve in order to get respect, cooperation—or whatever they expect. They must accept the challenge of responsibility, of exerting to earn their deserts. Too long have they taken the respect and obedience, even subservience, of the youth, for granted. They have, at times, even indulged in tyranny. That must end—or the seething discontentment of the youth might one day erupt into a revolt or even revolution. One manifestation of that has been the well-known defiance or indifference in the younger bureaucracy and the alleged conspiracies and attempted coups in the armed forces. It is for the elders to channelise this potential and energy along creative and healthy pursuits and nation-building activity. Our youth are not condemnable. They are to be understood and guided aright, affectionately and wisely.

Two Kinds of Pak. Generations: Counting from the partition time and the period when we attained independence (1947), the Pakistani youth can be classified in two main generations or sets of generations :(i) Those who entered life at that time. (ii) And those who attained youth in or around 1965 and after.

Pre-Partition Generations: The Freedom Fighters and Their Successors: Before these two were the pre-independence generations of our rulers. They were freedom fighters, no doubt—and all respect and esteem to them for that. But many of the survivors—or the **successor generation**—were diehard

British prototypes, cast essentially in their mould and mainly unused to freedom and democracy. They largely inherited, grabbed or manoeuvred the spoils—power and riches. No doubt, they did some good. But they did much harm, also. Mainly because (—although Pakistan did manage to survive because—or in spite—of them), they allowed democracy no chance in it—and that finally led to its disintegration and dismemberment. The youth of today are most annoyed with and disillusioned in that generation—and its followers—which killed the Quaid's Pakistan of their dreams !

The First Kind : The first generation of Pakistani youth is those who, as young students and student leaders, worked and suffered for the freedom movement, had a taste of the last, most active and agitational days of the struggle for Pakistan, and entered careers between 1945 and 1950. They are a generation apart from their peers—even though they have, willy-nilly, inherited or ensured a certain continuity of some of the old traditions, having been under their influence. *It is this generation which is now coming to the top in Pakistan, formulating the policy and giving shape and direction to the future.* Having been bred and brought up in an air essentially of freedom, they are different—and expected to be different—to begin to change and improve the prevalent state of affairs. *Their responsibility is onerous and the expectations that the nation and its youth has from them are high. For they have to reform and reshape this broken and battered Pakistan—through the generations that follow and succeed them.* To retrieve and recapture the 'lost'(?)—the disillusioned, disappointed and dejected next generations. To reclaim and rehabilitate them. And thus, to save, build and eternalise Pakistan. So, the fate and future of Pakistan is in their hands. They must emerge truly as its saviours and guides, its protectors and architects. They are the pace-setters and the epoch-makers.

The Second Kind : That brings us to the second kind of post-partition generations. The post-1965 ones. Because of

the 1965 and 1971 wars and their results, the second generation of Pakistani youth began to get disillusioned. They lost faith in the policies and politics, the promises and practices, the values and ideals of the senior generations, and the governments, political parties and other national institutions which these generations of elders manned.

It is almost ten years now since the rot and degeneration set in. And with it, this ideological generation—and—credibility gap. Whether the gradual disintegration of Pakistan also disintegrated its ideology or not, it certainly nibbled and gnawed at the spirit of its youth and disintegrated its faith in its **ruler or care-taker generations,** if not in Pakistan itself. For they have been, tragically, no better than monarch and empire-builders, care-takers and rulers—not leaders, guides, guardians and saviours. This faith has got to be redeemed and restored at all costs for on that depends the very survival and future of Pakistan. But how is that to be done ?

PAKISTAN'S IDEOLOGICAL STRATEGY FOR THE YOUTH

Let us recapture what has been stated already in this connection—summarily, that : (1) the elders wake up to their national responsibilities and grow with the times and march with the youth; (2) they try to accept and understand the youth and their motivation and idealism ; and (3) the first post-partition Pak. generations now at the helm of affairs prove themselves to be different from and better than their immediate predecessors and save today's Pakistan—through its present generations of youth. Apart from this, Pakistan will have to evolve a whole strategy and system of action to recapture the spirit, goodwill, dedication and imagination of its youth. For that it is necessary to :

(i) **The Islamic Ideology :** Give them a workable ideology to live by and for. Ideologies are not like eggs or chicke

which can be laid and hatched every day. We have toyed too long with constitutions and ideologies, to be taken seriously again. Neither the B. D. System nor materialism/capitalism/socialism have taken us very far. Let us not flog dead horses over-much. They now have only a historical value and are good for political hind-sight. The intentions might have been good or at least politic and expedient. Let us give them the benefiit of the doubt. They may even have served some timely purpose. But the long-term results speak for themselves. The point in all this is to suggest that Pakistan really had, has and can ever have only one ideology. That of the Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal – which originally created Pakistan and can now save and sustain it. That ideology is Islam, itself. Islamic Secularism fundamentally spiritual which is, for Islam repudiates asceticism and makes a moral, social and civic duty of a healthy political life.

"Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam, God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other."

(—Allama Iqbal : Presidential Address at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad : 29 December, 1930).

Islam also preaches Islamic Democracy and inspires one to strive for the Islamic Welfare State. Islamic Democracy manifest in the Islamic Welfare State emerges as a natural and logical corollary and political system of Islam. For according to Allama Iqbal, "The golden mean is prescribed by the Quran—the objective aimed at by the Islamic Shariah is that no one class should be able to dominate another, on the strength of capitalism Islam is a great blessings. I believe that the Quranic verse, "You become, by His blessing, Brothers", refers to this

very blessing, for the members of community cannot become a fraternity in the real sense, unless they have equality in all respects. Such equality cannot be achieved without a social system whose objective it is to create and nurture this equality, by containing the power of capitalism within proper confines." (—Allama Iqbal—Letter to the Editor, the "Daily Zamindar", Lahore, dated 24th June, 1923).

Islamic Socialism, on the other hand, is ironically, unfortunately misunderstood by many today. These wrong impressions need to be cleared up. It is suspect in the eyes of all the major ideologies of the world. The Muslims have questioned it for inviting socialistic inroads and for leaning unnecessarily on socialism. The democratic free world reads in it a sly attempt to play up to the 'Reds'. The scientific socialists sneer at it for being 'bourgeois, decadent, utopian, subjective, idealistic, impracticable, reactionary and nationalistic', etc., even as they might seem to humour it so long as it suits them and serves their purpose of weaning the Muslim world away from the 'capitalistic west'. Such a repudiation of Islamic Socialism is quite understandable for in an Islamic political system in any form at all, be it Islamic Socialism or Islamic Democracy, there is no scope for any irreligious or even areligious concept. Godless, materialistic or atheistic socialism is inconceivable in Islam. In fact, that amounts to an irreconcilable contradiction in terms. Further, Islam and therefore Islamic Socialism, which is based on it, rejects all the fundamental tenets of scientific socialism, i.e.,

(i) The materialistic interpretation of history.

(ii) Godlessness and anti-religion.

(iii) The idea of class war, revolution and violent changes. Islam, on the other hand, firmly believes in the One and Only Allah, in the finality of the prophethood of the Holy Prophet Muhammad of Islam (may eternal peace be upon him!), and therefore in Islamic spiritualism, and repudiates class-war, violence and bloody

revolutions. It upholds individual, social and political liberty. peace, equality, brotherhood and a reformative, progressive and evolutionary transformation of society, in creative and peaceful evolution.

Thus we see that just as Islam rejects the basic principles of socialism, the latter, for the same reasons, finds the latest credo of Islamic Socialism unacceptable to it.

To sum up, while Islamic Socialism attempted to reconcile Islam, socialism and democracy, it really resulted in annoying all three of them. The strategy has failed, despite the best of intentions it may have been motivated by. Let us have the guts and grace, the candour and humility to admit and accept that; and to try to remove the cobwebs of misunderstandings.

(i) **Islam :** There is, however, no need to feel lost, because the sanest way out is to place our faith in the Islamic Ideology and way of life.

(ii) **Pakistan's Original and only Ideology :** It is essential to give our youth an ideology which is viable ane practicable; which can be implemented, reasoned out and understood; which inspires their faith, belief and confidence. Pakistan's original ideology, if interpreted correctly, has all these qualities.

(iii) **Nationalism :** The original national spirit which created Pakistan, needs to be revived and recaptured. The same spirit of sacrifice and selflessness, of holding the nation and the national above one's self, is urgently needed. Then we will be culturally one, as Muslims, and Pakistanis, and not be torn and divided parochially. The factors which went into the making of Pakistan can be employed most usefully for this purpose.

(iv) **Education Reforms :** Educationally we have to produce patriotic Pakistanis, good citizens and noble human

beings. Islamic Studies and Islam interpreted as a modern way of life, Pakistan Studies and our history, especially of the Freedom Movement and the life and works of our eternal leaders like the Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal, should become an essential part of our educational policy, system and programme.

(v) **The Just Society** : All this must help to give our youth living hope for the just society of their dreams—which ensures political and economic democracy, personal and social or collective freedom, equality and brotherhood, and peace in Pakistan and the world around.

(vi) **Action not Promises** : No number of promises or blue prints will ever convince our youth again if they are not matched by sincere action and practice. So, let there be fewer promises—instead of a plethora of them—and more solid action which produces concrete results. Let the promises be realistic and factual, or they will be dismissed as a joy ride or eye-eash, and kite-flying. Propaganda and talking would not do. Only follow-up action and results can fill up the ever enlarging credibility gap.

(vii) **Motivational Programme** : With the intention of inspiring and retrieving our youth, a nation-wide 'Students-Parents-Teachers Ideological Motivation Programme' has to be launched. And leaders of opinion in various walks of life would need to be associated with it, including religious leaders. Almost all our religious political parties have become more political and less religious. They can be encouraged to start branches or wings which should concentrate exclusively on religious, educational, humanitarian, social and community service and non-political work. One religious party which claims to be entirely non-

political, seems to concentrate more on converting Muslims and villagers to Islam, though it should logically be turning more to non-Muslim ; and to cities and towns. All such parties, religious and political, can play an effective, non-partisan role in motivating and inspiring the Pakistani youth ideologically. The T.V., Radio and Press and all the media of mass communication would have to be employed to produce results.

(viii) **Students and Politics :** All political par:ies must vow not to involve the students in active, agitational or party politics. If that is to be done, the voting age cannot be lowered than it is at present. Academic, arm-chair and drawing room politics and interest in national and international affairs are quite another matter. This proposed undertaking by all political parties will prevent the students from being misled and exploited.

(ix) **Guidance** : Means of providing sound and scientific guidance and counselling on all matters, to our youth, in community centres and educational institutions need to be secured and sources tapped for this purpose. This will grant some respite to their restlessness. It will also help to prevent the attempted or rumoured ideological subversom among our students. Not that they are all that gullible or any the less patriotic than the rest of the Pakistanis. But the political situation lends itself not only to a breach of trust and loss of faith but, what is worst, all this results in diluting one's ideological foundations, faith and beliefs.

(x) **Educational and Allied Activity :** Their educational programme needs to be made so full and exacting, that they have no time left for mischief. Of course, recrea-

tion, creative hobbies, debating, dramatics, games and military training, first-aid and nursing, etc., have to be catered to.

(xi) **Jobs and Careers :** These must be ensured to them, as far as possible, so that they feel they have a secure future.

(xii) **The Blessings of Freedom** : Our youth need to be made conscious of these blessings—personal, social, economic and political. The best way to do so is to actually grant them these blessings. They need to have a sense of belonging to a great nation in which they can pride, and a sense of participation in building it up.

(xiii) **The Plight of Indian Muslims and Minorities** has to be revealed to them constantly and the Indian mentality exposed, so that they can count their blessings.

(xiv) **National Philosophy**. All this needs a national philosophy or ideology which, when practised, become the national character, culture and way of life. Pakistan is a poor country. It cannot afford ostentation in any form at all—least of all in words and promises. For they are the most dangerous when they build up expectations which cannot be fulfilled. The shock of the gulf between hopes, expectations and reality is sometimes irreconcilable, unacceptable. It may cause a breakdown.

Finale

With their traumatic loss of faith, our youth are on the verge of a breakdown. That can be disastrous. Or is it ennui and indifference ? Which is worse. For it is a stage or state of dope-like dejection from which there is little or no recall. The escapism of indifference is complete—for there is no hope and expectation, and therefore, no disappointment. Indifference

insensitises one. Man is petrified, fossilised. He calls it contentment. But that is sometimes the indifference and contentment of a lost generation of cynics.

Our youth are not yet a lost generation. They are confused and aimless. But that is not their fault. We can still save them, for they are basically sound and full of potential and promise. But that is possible only through a well-planned and well-executed, sustained and continued ideological strategy to motivate and inspire them as nationalistic Pakistanis and good human beings.

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Thoughts Aloud Of The Baluchistan Problem

Thoughts Aloud of the Baluchistan Problem

I have intentionally chosen an innocuous or even naive caption for this paper. Not because I don't attach enough importance to the subject. But simply because I don't want to be too ambitious and promissory.

The Problem

To my mind, the problem of Baluchistan is the problem of Pakistan. Such is the great and unparalleled importance that it has in my opinion. I would also say that the future of Pakistan is the future of Baluchistan. The Punjab might be the bastion of power of Pakistan. But Baluchistan is its heart and nerve-centre. This is a fact which has always escaped our attention. But, none-the-less, this is the fact which must be recognised, above all.

The Thaw

Today is 16th October, 1974. It is an auspicious day for Baluchistan and it augurs well for Pakistan. The Prime Minister's sagacious and far-sighted policy of detente and reconciliation at home has borne its first peaceful fruits. If all goes well, more dividends will follow. But this is just the beginning of the thaw. Certainly a good beginning. And therefore—because it is a beginning—these thoughts on the Baluchistan problem.

The Nature of the Problem

I will not go into the history and genesis of the Baluchistan problem. It is partly a legacy of the British days and partly an heirloom from the successive governments of Pakistan. Aggravated by primitive feudalism, rabid tribalism and the anachronistic Sardari system, it also got confounded with the Pukhtoonistan stunt and has been lured away by the tempting but misleading alien nationalities' bogy. 'The strategy of the New Brezhnev Policy, some suspect, is to subvert ideologically the citadels of capitalism and feudalism from within by encouraging so-called cultural differences and revolutions, nationalist movements, secessionist and parochial tendencies, economic disparities, political grouces, religious sectarianism, class struggle and by many other means'.

But the fact remains that the nature of the Baluchistan problem is essentially linked with two vital factors and facts of our national history :

(i) The absence of democracy in Pakistan ; and

(ii) The inherent and growing economic disparity in this country.

It is not enough to say that attempts at democracy of sorts have been made throughout the history of Pakistan. Nor is it of any use to pass the buck on to the past, entirely. No doubt certain areas of Pakistan, including Baluchistan (and East Pakistan), were backward and under-developed, as compared to others, right from the beginning and to begin with. Just as the whole of Pakistan was under-developed, as compared to Bharat. But the disparity, instead of narrowing down, kept on increasing—because of faulty, if not vicious, political policy and economic planning.

Thus we see that rationalisation and justification would not help. For almost all attempts at democracy were generally an eye-wash and all efforts at introducing parity were half-hea-

rted. We must learn to accept the truth with candour and grace. For that way we recognise the reality of the problem. The first step to problem-solving is to face the facts squarely and to accept the problem as a given—fact and reality.

The Way Out

Having recognised and accepted the problem coolly and without getting over-awed by its (seeming) enormity and complexity, the next step would be to think of ways and means to solve it. Here, again, we are confronted with another reality. That the bigger a problem, the more difficult, painstaking and time-consuming it is to solve. But that should not discourage us. All great achievements require time and dedicated effort. Nations are not built in a day. That precisely is, in fact, the challenge.

Ways and Means

Some of the possible ways and means that can be considered and might be helpful to solve this problem are discussed below. These can be classified as short-term and long-term.

1. Short-Term

(i) **Setting The House In Order :** The best way to begin this is to ensure the immediate cessation of hostilities and to withdraw the troops to the barracks. That, of course, does not mean a cessation of vigilance. The withdrawal of the troops to their peace-time positions and stations—within easy reach of the trouble spots—can still ensure the necessary policing and peace-keeping.

(ii) **General Amnesty :** The general amnesty granted by the Prime Minster is a popular and welcome step in the right direction, which should go a long way to set the house in order. This initial strategy needs to be sustained and kept up. It could also be diversified into and applied usefully to all walks of national life. Its spirit

of winning over and conversion through peaceful negotiations and settlement through reconciliation, would be a paying permanent policy and not just a matter of timely tactics or expedient strategy.

(iii) **Detente With The Opposition and its Acknowledged Leadership** will obviously help to restore peace to the troubled province.

(iv) **Detente With The Democratic Forces, Pressure Groups and Power Elites** would, likewise, be most helpful in bringing order to Baluchistan. These groups and forces, if isolated from the rigid and extremist opposition and recognised as a separate and independent entity to reckon with, would counter-balance the will and might of the die-hard militant opposition. I would include the students and teachers, the intelligentsia and intellectuals, the settlers and the settled, the vested interests like the business and trading community, the educated and emancipated, the bureaucrats and baboos, the religious leaders, etc., in these groups.

(v) **A Favourable Press** within and outside the country is always an asset. But it has to be convinced with the proof of good deeds and the evidence of results that speak for themselves. And not be dictated or brow-beaten. Of course, to begin with, it must be convinced of the necessary good faith, will and intentions to solve the Baluchistan problem permanently, in a democratic and peaceful manner.

(vi) **Favourable Foreign Relations :** Enough understanding and respect for international law and the sovereignty and rights of independent states has to be built up, in order to minimise, if not eliminate, interference in our national affairs. The Prime Minister's ability to do so is unquestionable.

2. Long-Term Solutions

The more important of these are discussed in the following paragraphs:

(i) **An Acceptable, Workable Ideology :** I had earlier referred to the New Brezhnev Policy of the alleged subversion of national ideologies in peace-time. The best way to check-mate such moves is to present the people of Pakistan with a competitive and alternate or substitute ideology which can inspire and move, unite and knit them into a strong and invincible nation. The answer to the menace of the nationalities bogy is not repression but a growing and healthy nationalism which believes in peaceful, progressive and cooperative co-existence and inspires faith and pride in the nation rather than the region. This ideology is the original ideology of Pakistan which first created the nation. It is our Islamic Ideology. This ideology produced Allama Iqbal, the dreamer and poet-philosopher of Pakistan and projected the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as its creator. It still holds the promise to Pakistan's present leadership to emerge as its Architects and Consolidaters, at least of the New Pakistan. But for that a change of strategy would be necessary. The secret of its future success will lie, not in defying and departing from Pakistan's original ideology, but in staying as close to its spirit, content and essence, as possible. Of course, that ideology needs to be revived, revitalised and re-interpreted, in the light of the existing situation, our present needs and requirements and recent experiences. But basically the ideology must be preserved and promoted. For ideologies are not born every day. Let the birth-rate of our ideologies not race with the population explosion in our country. It is my firm conviction that though Islam has been much misused, maligned, abused and misunderstood in this country and because of this

country, it has really never been given an honest try and a living chance. If the intention in proclaiming Islamic Socialism is to usher in democratic socialism and not Godless socialism, then the same, if not better, results can be achieved through the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan, for Islam, in intent and essence, is far more domocratic, egalitarian and socialistic than any other creed. And I am talking of Islam as a way of social, political and economic life—corporate and national life. And not just as a religion or ritual. That is concerned with man's relation with God. The former deals with man's duties to and rights over man. So long as Islam remains the religion of this country, it is always possible to inspire the people to mass and people's movements aimed at national solidarity and well-being, in the name of religion. For religion is still a great inspiration and a strong rallying, motivating and unifying factor and force. Going against religion will amount to opening the flood-gates of bloody dissension, turmoil and conflict.

In order to spell out our National Ideology, it will be necessary to study, understand and follow the following :

(i) The history and objectives of our Freedom Movement.

(ii) The Political Philosophy of Allama Iqbal.

(iii) The Political Creed of the Quaid-e-Azam.

(iv) The Socio-Political and Economic Objectives of the Islamic State.

The above, together, go to form the basis and essence of the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan.

Islamic Ideology

All provinces, people and parties in Pakistan ardently profess and wish for the preservation, promotion and perpetuation of :

(i) Islam and Pakistan's basic ideology.

(ii) Democracy.

(iii) Economic progress and development.

(iv) Peace and prosperity.

(v) National independence and solidarity.

Let these be heartily accepted as Pakistan's common unifying factors, for they form the basis of Pakistan's ideology. Let them, therefore, mark the beginning of a new and lasting detente at home and the starting point of a creative, peaceful and progressive domestic policy. Only when we are truly peaceful and democratic at home, will we be taken seriously abroad as pacifists and peace makers.

Islamic Socialism, Islamic Democracy, Islamic Secularism and the Islamic Welfare State

The above, in brief, means Islamic Socialism Democracy manifest in Islamic Secularism and the Islamic Socialism Welfare State. Islamic Socialism perse and all alone, being controversial has, realistically speaking, instead of becoming a comenting force, turned out to be divisive and disruptive, in the opinion of many. That may not have been the original intention. Let us credit it with good faith or at least give it the benefit of doubt. But that precisely, sadly, is the result according to some critics.

Islamic Socialism is not greater than Islam. And ,of course, materialistic, scientific, Godless or atheistic socialism is simply inconceivable in a Muslim State. Call it what you will — 'utopian, subjective, idealistic, unscientific, impracticable, revolutionary, or reactinary,' (as the Scientific Socialists do), Islamic Socialism was the nearest that an Islamic society could get to Socialism. But the days of even Islamic Socialism divest of Islamic Democracy in the world are fading out. Ironically, Islamic Socialism has been considered suspect by the purists of systems all—Islam, socialism and democracy,

alike Islam regarded it as an attempted defiance, dilution and defection; socialism, as an unscientific and hybrid interpolation meriting nothing but rejection; and democracy, as a sly flirtation with the Reds and Commies. As such, in Pakistan, and in a Muslim State, it has the best chance of survival when it is coupled with Islamic Democracy—more than any kind of socialism ever had. That is bound to happen so long as Islam remains the religion of the masses. This is not just an unassailable fact and the most predominant historical factor, it is also the most determinate contemporary force. Party politics are not greater than national unity. Great leaders have been led by the reality of success and failure and of changing times. They are humble enough to accept temporary setbacks and detours, and to adapt, adjust and mould themselves according to the facts of life and its myriad and ever-changing experiences and realities. It is time to make such a beginning in Pakistan, also.

If time and galloping events have overtaken materialistic Islamic So-cialism and disproved it, let us accept the verdict with grace, humility and gratitude. And we have the ability to do so. For we have had the character and candour, courage and fortitude to accept the bitterest of realities in the past. And the concepts of Islamic Democracy and the Islamic Welfare State are no mean co-ideals or substitutes. For Islam is truly more democratic than any other creed and ideology and its objective is a free and progressive welfare state based on the brotherhood of mankind. It preaches the rule of the golden mean and middle path in all matters, spiritual and mundane. As such, it upholds enlightened secularism; and discards the distinction between the secular and spiritual as not quite necessary.

(ii) **An Islamic Nationalist Government**

The first step to sink our differences and to start afresh on the path of national peace, unity and prosperity might be to usher in an Islamic Nationalist Government in Pakistan.

Democracy, in Islam, means : (i) rule by the best; (ii) rule by consent, cooperation and consensus ; and (iii) following the golden mean and the middle path in all matters. In economic terms, some scholars like Dr. Javed Iqbal and Dr. Khalifa A. Hakim have interpreted it to mean a 'mixed economy', perhaps of the Scandinavian type. Secular democracy is basically divisive and essentially numerical, surrendering itself to the will and whims of the brute majority. It is hands rather than heads and hearts. It may or may not include the best in the ruling party, but it certainly leaves out the best in the non-party or the other-party, the best outside the party and in the nation, in all parties, provinces and regions. An Islamic Nationalist Government, on the other hand, enlists the very best in all the parties and the cream of the nation. This is distinct from the usual coalition government, which is generally alleged to be weak and unstable. That is because a coalition government is a wedlock of opportunists driven together by nothing but necessity and expediency—and not any unifying factors or fundamental principles. An Islamic Nationalist Government, on the other hand, has the requisite and necessary cementing factors and forces to keep it going. For all parties are pledged to the basic ideological principles of an Islamic State, vis :

(i) Its Islamic religion, ideology, nature, character, inspiration and motive force.

(ii) Islamic Democracy.

(iii) National unity, independence, peace, progress and prosperity.

(iv) Universal peace and human fraternity.

The above are the essentials and pre-requisites. They form the quintescence of the Supreme National Ideology and of all party programmes. All legislation etc. is based on them. The cabinet will be guided by a Supreme Religious and Ideological

Advisory Council. Party differences lie in degrees of emphasis, priorities, detailed programming, timing and scheduling—and not on fundamental issues and basic principles. When parties agree to get together on such vitals, they are bound to cooperate, work hand in hand and make a success of it.

The Opposition in such a case is equally constructive and creative, purposive and progressive, nationalistic and Islamic, being motivated by the same unifying fundamental principles which inspire the government. It serves as the conscience of the ruling group, providing the necessary over-seeing, watching, controls, checks and balances.

The 'Imam' or "Amir", Prime Minister or Head of such a state will be far more effective, powerful and in a position to do good - and therefore successful, than his counterparts elsewhere, for he will have the religiously-inspired, whole-hearted faith and cooperation of all his people and the "Millet".

The induction of such an Islamic Nationalist Government in Pakistan at this stage is bound to knit the whole nation together in lasting unison and enhance its prestige abroad. A united Pakistan is a strong Pakistan : for national security is impossible without national integration. Such a Pakistan will be a becon of hope for the Muslim world and for Afro-Asia.

(iii) **Political Settlement.**

One lesson that must be learnt from our East Pakistan Tragedy of 1971 is that we should try to solve political issues politically and not militarial. This is both a question of political ideology and of policy and expediency. A political settlement means more genuine democracy and more reasonable provinical autonomy within the bounds of national interests, integration and sovereignty. In our times, autonomy and democracy have, to some extent, become synonymous and not just inter-dependent. However, democracy cannot be granted by fits and starts and in half-hearted doses. Democracy in Baluchistan would necessitate

democracy, both in principle and in practice, for the whole of Pakistan, and in each and ever province and region of it.

(iv) Economic Development

Here, to being with, I will quote Walker Connor writing on "The Politics of Ethnonationalism" appearing in the American "Journal of International Affairs" (Columbia University), Vol. 1.27, No. 1, 1973 (—special issue on the study of "Political Integration In Multinational States").

Negative Factors

★ "Ethnonationalism appears to feed on adversity and denial".

★ "The seemingly inevitable, uneven economic development of regions triggers animosities among both the benefitted groups... ....and the unfavoured ones".

Positive Factors

★ "Modernisation is accompanied by increased integration ; cultural and territorial autonomy are threatened by such things as the necessity for mobility of labour, a common language for industry etc".

★ "Advances in state-wide and inter-state communications and transportaton facilities diminish the opportunity for cultural isolation, and cultural authority is thereby an increasingly difficult concept to implement". (—Walker Connor).

The above passages contain both warnings for our avoidance of pitfalls and hints for our guidance. The basic point to be noted is that just as there is no substitute for political democracy for the free development of a state, there is none for economic democracy, either. Both political and economic democracy or Islamic Democracy and Islamic Socialism must go hand in hand to ensure true and complete Islamic Democracy.

But economic development must be equitable, even and parity-oriented, in order to be politically effective and materially fruitful.

Baluchistan's Typicalities and Assets

Baluchistan is Pakistan's largest province, yet it has the smallest population. Its borders bring us shoulder to shoulder with Iran and Afghanistan and close to Russia and even China. Its high-ways lead to the warm waters, on the one hand, and through the R.C.D. land routes, to the Arab Muslim World, the Middle East and Europe. It can provide additional ports to Pakistan. It is potentially rich in natural resources, mineral wealth and even oil. If the above assets are exploited and developed properly, Baluchistan can be Pakistan's richest province and its main source of wealth and strength. For both strategically-cum-geo-politically and economically, it is full of promise and possibilities. Therefore, it needs to be flooded with economic development, coupled with a generous provision of educational and medical facilities and social and welfare services. It can be turned into a model welfare province. Baluchistan's frontiers might be screened or sealed, if possible, to eliminate or at least minimise foreign intrusion, interference and subversive activity. But its heart-land and country-side should be thrown open to modern and progressive influences. It would not be reasonable or even possible for the people to resist the lure and blessings of emancipation and modernism, wealth and development, progress and prosperity, peace and plenty.

Development can be financed in the following manner :

(i) By diverting substantial foreign aid.

(ii) By lavish grants-in-aid from the federal government.

(iii) By attracting public and private investment from other provinces.

The last may be shy, to begin with But it can be goaded and attracted by a combination of nationalistic motivation, economic incentives and socio-political protection.

The most important thing is to break through the insularity, reserves and isolation of the province, both by persuasion and convincing arguments and by economic incentives and development.

A high-powered *Baluchistan Development Board* may have to be set up for this purpose. It must be asked to come up with a feasible *Five Year Plan* within a limited, prescribed time. The job of reclaiming Baluchistan and bringing it on a level with our other provinces must be undertaken as a *crash programme*—to be completed within 5 (to 10) years, at the most. For the international and regional situation allows us no more time. But the results of each year should be strident and impressive. The Board's Programmes should include an intelligent employment of the mass media of communication to convert, enlighten, educate and emancipate the people.

Programmes for development should cover all major sectors of national life—social, political, economic, cultural, educational, rural, urban, industrial, mineral and agricultural. Top priority should be given to oil exploration. The approach should be humanistic and welfare-oriented; of social service and human interest. The local population needs to be involved in them as much as possible, in order to give it a sense of participation in its own affairs, and of belonging to Pakistan. Development will assure the people of Baluchistan that they matter very much and are close to the hearts and minds of their compatriots and the policy makers and planners of Pakistan. Only by inspiring such a feeling can we win the faith and confidence of the people of Baluchistan and elicit their whole-hearted cooperation and active participation. All developmental programmes and projects will be successful only if motivated and launched as a people's movement—a democratic,

individual-oriented people's movement-and *not* an inpersonal, hierarchical, party-prone one.

(v) *The Political Dissidents* can best be dealt with by :

(a) Ideological competition.

(b) Economic development.

(c) Painstaking and peaceful persuasion and conversion.

(d) Mutual respect and peaceful co-existence.

(vi) *The Social Decadents*, no matter how die-hard, like the entrenched, feudal and 'Sardari' interests, are bound to die their own death with the passage of time. They are human. Therefore both vulnerable and perishable. They are certainly not eternal. The mass movement by the proposed provincial development crash programme—which should be given national top priority—will overtake them in all their resistence and machinations. Their system being outdated and decadent, they get corrupted and purchased. Their progeny can be weaned away from them and given a fresh lease of emancipated and healthy life. 'Divide and rule' was a British common strategum. But the people's democratic and ideological rejection of their yoke will be their final undoing.

(vii) **Population Migration.**

One way to end the insularity and regionalism of a people and to encourage national integration, is to create conditions favourable to population migration. This is best possible with (a) economic incentives ; (b) social security and (c) political stability. Baluchistan, because of its demographic features and economic potential, can easily lend itself to popular population migration, provided the political situation is favourable. One reason why there are no divisive parochial feelings in the Punjab, is that modernism has resulted in psychological emancipation, breaking down all such taboos,

reserves and prejudices. Another is that economic development has favoured population migration, encouraging the Punjabis to venture abroad and welcoming 'outsiders' to settle in the Punjab as its own 'sons of the soil'. When the pace and distribution of emancipation and development are even and equitable, provincial barriers and parochial prejudices disappear. For then all the people become the contented and confident equal citizens of one united and strong nation—*even if* they are a minority in their own province.

(viii) **Motivating The Religious**

They should be weaned away from mischivous party politics by involving them in religious preaching, literacy and education campaigns, social and community service works and development programmes, running poor/rural/slum 'maktabs," dispensaries and 'dawankhanas' and getting trained as dispensers, compounders and bare-foot country doctors.

Conclusion

The Baluchistan problem may be a very trying, teasing and testing one. But it is not insoluable. The *Short-Term Proposals* discussed earlier in this paper would need to be implemented immediately or at least in the near future. The *Long-Term Projects And Programmes* will naturally take time. But the organisational complex and brains-trust to devise and work on them, could be set up before long. Understandably they will have to be phased out and programmed. For the Baluchistan issue is essentially a case of national integration. And integration is an eternal process. It can certainly be achieved—provided the genuine desire and sincere goodwill is there. Pakistan certainly has the leadership, acumen and statesmanship to show results.

"A *common* national consciousness, a *common* national consensus and a *common* national identity are, (according to Prof. Arnold Rivkin and Brian P. Connelly, Editor of the

Journal of International Affairs), the essential pre-requisites of national self-determination, nation-building and nationalism." But Brain P. Connelly also warns that : "One must remember that though we speak of nations, the key to the self-identification process that determines whether an ethnic group is self-aware (and therefore usually active) is the *individual*' .... Therefore, the sucess of all efforts at 'social engineering' rests on the ability to alter the mental set of thousands of individuals".

Pakistan is, in many ways, an arena of fads and cliches; of clap-trap and the gift of the gab rather than dedicated action through the courage of one's convictions. Perhaps there are few convictions, (if any) and even less courage. And action, of course, is unknown. Some of the fashionable cliches are systems, proletariate and party-oriented 'mass movements'—which forget or even eliminate and negate the individual; and 'cultural revolution'—which is little culture and more verbal blood-letting. Yet we profess to be Muslims and assert that Islam is a religion of peace, brotherhood and equality. It believes in progress through peaceful reform and evolution and not class war and bloody revolutions.

Brian P. Connelly has rightly suggested that all attempts at national integration depend on 'the ability to alter the mental set of thousands of individuals'. This is best possible by inspiring the people with an acceptable and practicable National Ideology which goes down into the beliefs and faith, religion and creed, history and culture, roots and sub-soil, the hearts and minds, the souls and spirits of the people. For Pakistan, such an ideology is its Islamic Ideology — which is modern, progressive and emancipated—and not bigoted, intolerant, rigid and priest or Mulla oriented—which first created Pakistan and can still sustain and eternalise it; or what else is there to distinguish us from the Hindus and Sikhs of Bharat ?

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The RCD: Nov. 1975 Onwards

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Historical

The Turkish President Fahri Koruturk's recent state visit to Pakistan for a week (18th to 24th Nov., 1975), is memorable in many respects and from several angles. It is quite epoch-making and historical. And it may go down as a landmark in the annals of regional alliances and fraternal ties—if followed up diligently and step by step, as rightly pointed out and urged by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. And as aptly remarked by him, the visit is not merely a matter of top level protocol. It is much more, besides. For it is deep-rooted in the history and cultures, psyche and spirit, hearts and sentiments of two brotherly peoples. Except for China, only the Muslim brotherhood has been able to evoke continuously over the years, such complete, profound and spiritual response from the Pakistanis—who have otherwise become somewhat cynical with the passage of time, because of some pledges broken or ignored in its hours of crises by some 'friends in the name of friendship'. Perhaps Pakistan itself was to blame partly, at least in a case or two—especially on the points of alignments and pacts. But all that is in the

past, I hope. Let us learn our lessons from history and be wary and wiser, in future. One big lesson is to know friend from foe and friend from friend.

Results and Achievements

The Turkish President's visit along with his entourage, to Pakistan, has reinforced this lesson. For Turkey and Iran, among others, have been Pakistan's most abiding friends ever since its creation and through thick and thin. The visit has further reinforced this basic fact and lasting reality and galvanised the friendship. No body is complacent about the performance of the RCD so far, and least of all the three partners involved. But they are justifiably optimistic about the future, for they are sincerely determined to make up for the past, plug the loop-holes and build up in the right direction.

The main achievement of the visit under reference is, then, in the field of realism and necessity, both. There are no illusions and mirages to misguide us. There is only the compelling urgency to stick together in enlightened national self—and collective interest and for regional and global peace and progress. A direction has been given, a clarion call made and a course of action charted out. The RCD is now at the threshold of the take-off stage. All its achievements and successes to come will depend entirely on how much hard work is put in by the three friends to implement the decisions now and already take. It is hoped that these will be reiterated and reemphasised and fresh ground covered at the tripartite (RCD) Summit Conference proposed for spring, 1976 at Izmir. There is, of course, no dearth of the sincerity of purpose. What is needed is, as frankly conceded by both sides, endless follow up action.

The Upshot

The major achievements of the Turkish President's visit under discussion may be listed as follows :—

(i) The Turko-Pak. Economic and Technical Co-operation Agreement.

(ii) The decision to set up RCD Defence Industry.

(iii) The suggestion/ feasibility to / of widen (ening) the scope or membership of the RCD.

Let us touch these briefly, one by one.

Multiple Compulsions

The RCD came into being not because it was, politically and internationally, the 'in thing'. It evolved as a result of the geo-political, geo-strategic, socio-cultural, economic, historical, ideological and religious compulsions of the three nations involved. As such, it is a concrete manifestation of an undeniable reality. Now if this reality wants to assert itself further in the economic, technical, defence or other fields, it should be no surprise to any one at all. That is a logical development to a logical conclusion. If such a development were to be thwarted, the institution is likely to atrophy, if not die.

(i) **Economic and Technical Aspects.** All the three RCD countries have much in common –including the fact that they are developing nations which have a great need of each other. They have man-power, expertise and know-how, experience and enterprise, human and natural resources, agricultural and mineral wealth which they can exploit jointly and share. From the stage and station of being exploited by the capitalist West, they can evolve into a position of shared strength and prosperity. In this era of energy crisis and inflation, the three can pool resources to fight these scourges collectively. And they are ideally suited to do so. For it is a partnership of equals. The

shortcomings of one in one respect are and can be balanced by its own or the other's strength in another field.

(ii) **Joint Defence.** A joint defence industry both presupposes and necessitates, ultimately, a joint defence. Self-sufficiency is the hall-mark of 'national power'. That is possible through self-reliance. Of all the elements of national power, the economic and defence factors are, perhaps, the most important. For they have a major hand in boosting the morale of a people and in keeping their ideological and spiritual inspirations intact. How long can the RCD depend on uncertain outside sources for its essential defence requirements? Diversification of supplies, sources, channels and inputs only adds to their uncertainty and dependence on others, by increasing both. The time lag between orders and imports increases the surety of obsolescence and the necessity of replacements—which are by no means easy to procure.

Too long have small and under-developed nations depended in vain on alien defenders, protecting or avenging deities and salvation armies. National and regional defence is, ultimately, a matter of inner strength and reserves. There are no angels of deliverance. At best there are only sympathetic friends. But even their ability to help is limited. We should neither embarrass them with excessive expectations, nor burden them beyond their power or potential.

In the ultimate analysis, national and regional defence are the responsibility of the concerned states and regions, themselves. That is possible in three ways:

(i) Self-defence—national and regional.

(ii) Self-reliance—national and regional.

(iii) Joint regional defence.

Defence is not just a matter of military man-power and armed forces. They need weapons to defend with. The best way to ensure that is to lay the foundations of indiginous sources of defence industry, despite the lure of the exotic and the superiority of the foreign.

Balance of Power and Peace

In regions threatened by at least conventional wars and riddled with the arms race, the balance of power and peace is bound to be upset, especially by :

(i) colossal sub-continental states ; and (ii) actually or potentially nuclear states—in an area essentiallv of small and medium-sized, non-nuclear states. This lost balance can be attempted to be resorted by :

(i) insistence upon and insurance of local and regional peace ;

(ii) self - reliance in defence, and

(iii) joint or regional defence.

But that is possible only when the participants are truly partners, in spirit and deed and see eye to eye with each other, at least the essentials. There can be no room for planted or stolen in subversion—ideological, sub-liminal or of any other kind.

Mahan and Mackinder

These two sea and land strategists might have died for the big powers confronted with the nuclear challenge of global power politics and the balance of power. But for non-nuclear, small and medium states, their warnings and urgings still hold good. So we have to: (i) accept the fact of our geo-political and geo strategic compulsions and realise the reality of our almighty neighbours, especially the Russians and the Chinese; and (ii) ensure our

maritime interests, collective defences and over-all national power and security, by land, air and sea. The fact might be that both Mahan and Mackinder have so possessed the collective (defence) subconscious and psyche of big powers that despite being subconsciously motivated by them, they are trying to deny and disprove them. World domination—if not government —through new economic colonialism and ideological motivation or subversion—may still be their objective, in the long run. But for small states and pacifist nations like the RCD, peace and self-defence are noble enough objectives. Their ideals do not aspire to the ambitions of some of the big powers.

(iii) **Confedration etc**. Another point that emerged during the Turkish President's recent visit to Pakistan was the possibility of enhancing the scope and membership of the RCD, in some form or other.

Certain basic assumptions and essential requirements of a federation, confederation or any other form of political or international alignmeat, need to be recapitulated here.

These are

(i) There can be no viable or lasting partnership of unequals—especially in size, strength and power. But if a large and nuclear state is entitled, for regional, economic, political, strategic, ideational, ideological or any other consideration of objective, intent etc., to the membership of an alignment of non - nuclear states, then China qualifies for it the most. Because of its : (i) avowed and proven pacifism ; (ii) leadership of Afro - Asia (and the Third World) as distinct from Euro - Asia or Eurasia ; and (iii) its persistently good and growing relations with *all* the countries concerned. (Another suitable partner can be Sri Lanka), for similar reasons of facifism and general food will).

(ii) Common unifying factors - e.g. geo-political, geo-strategic, socio-cultural, historical, political, economic, religious and ideological.

(iii) Common objectives – of mutual good/will and peace.

(iv) The strong feeling and faith of belonging together *and* the will to stay together in future.

Conclusions

General Detente : While it is a noble ideal to wish to expand the RCD, it would seem essential to determine the direction and dimensions in which this might be. It may also be necessary for the RCD to first prove its own credentials and credibility through its viability, in order to attract and encourage others to join it. Others who wish to enter the partnership might, like-wise, first shed or solve their differences and strike a *modus vivendi* on a minimum of working relations – bilaterally.

The Muslim Brotherhood from Africa to China has all the afore-mentioned unifying factors in plenty, to enable the age-old dream of Pan-Islamism to become a reality. All these countries are bound together by multipul compulsions and the sheer necessity of survival and lust for life. Ideologically, not only does Islam unite and unify them, they also aspire to Islamic Democracy, Islamic Secularism and the Islamic Welfare State, in some form or other. To self - defence, self - help and self - sufficiency. And to national, regional and global freedom, peace, progress, plenty, brotherhood, equality and fraternity.

These are all laudable vistas worth pursuing assiduously. To these can be added the necessity of enlarging and generalising the scope of *Detente* to cover all trouble spots of precarious peace and convert them into peace areas, zones and regions.

Let the RCD then, consider these possibilities and avenues, for such panoramas are unlimited and boundless. There can

be no limit to the friends that one can have, theoretically speaking. But true friendship, like all good things in life, is a rather rare blessing. Nonetheless, the effort must continue, of course, discreetly and cautiously, in order to enable one to choose wisely and well. From mutual benefit and joint defence, then, to general goodwill, enlarged detente and regional and global peace ! In the meantime, of course, it is hoped that the RCD will continue to grow and progress, tripartitely and bilaterally.

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Pakistan
&
The International
Women's Year

Pakistan And The International Women's Year

The Other Side

Whenever I have been asked to express myself on the subject of women's rights etc., this year, at public forums, I have made a plea for a holistic and balanced view, and have urged that we look at the other side of the picture, also. For it is a common human fallacy and a prevalent tendency that in the rush or heat of the moment, we tend to be lop-sided or extremistic. Forgetting the assets and merits, we may emphasise the liabilities and demerits. While clamouring for rights, we can ignore duties, obligations and responsibilities.

Not that I do not believe in and uphold the women's rights to equality and emancipation—infact, all the human, democratic and fundamental rights. But I do not cater to unnecessary confrontations and chaos. So, whenever one talks of counting, at the end of 1975, the number of women 'liberated' during this year, from the shackles of their uneviable lot and the bondage of male chauvanism and dictatorship, I would also like a count of the broken homes and disrupted marriages. Many self-styled feminist leaders, with their authoritarian and self-righteous meddling, are doing precisely that—breaking up homes. Other man-haters have found an easy outlet to release their own pent-up prejudices. For enhanced consciousness of their present position and better awareness of their

role and destiny may be—and indeed, is— a great objective and achievement. But such feminine awareness is not enough. Consciousness may be the first step but it is not all, divest of essential follow-up action in the wake of declarations and decisions. Because without a matching change in the socio-economic fibre of our society—resulting in a better deal and lot—and that takes time, even with the best of programmes—whetted consciousness and sharpened awareness can lead to galloping expectations. These, if not fulfilled, and they are not likely to be, if they are not realistic, practicable and realisable, can cause much frustration, on the one hand, and confrontation on the other. If anything, this society needs cooperation and internal peaceful co-existence, more than anything else today.

The Modus Operandi

While the noble intentions and pious motives at play, and the enthusiasm that they have generated, are moving, the modus operandi adopted tends to be, at times, rather generalistic, sweeping, theoretical, unrealistic or facile. As is usual in Pakistan, the 'women's lib. movement', if one can borrow this term, has become somewhat an elitist affair of drawing room, bureaucratic 'begums' of the bourgeoisie and nouveau riche. Leave alone the women folk of our rural population, (which is, roughly, more than 75% of our total population), this partly westernised elite is just a microscopic minority even among its city bred, educated or enlightened counterparts. But that is not all. For not only are these well-meaning Good Samaritans and Do-Gooders inhibited by the demographic and population factor, being an infinitisimal minority, they are also impeded by two other stumbling blocks : (i) the socio-cultural factor of social distance and dialogue and of an emerging wide credibility gap ; and (ii) the one of their questionable representative nature. That is why the very pertinent question is invariably asked : how can these high society, city bred 'begums', sitting in their ivory towers and glass chambers, with little or no rapport with the rustics and the 'mohalla and gulley, ghette,

shanty town and slum dwellers, speak of the latter with any credible degree of justification and veracity? How do they know what their problems are and what, the remedies and solutions involved? The only defence of these 'begums' is of (i) good intentions; (ii) sisterhood of sex; and (iii) social service. But community work in Pakistan is, again, sometimes a pastime of the idle and pass-port to publicity. However, the problem requires a scientific and sociological approach—not merely a symbolistic or sympathetic one, raising high hopes with louder slogans. That could turn a serious movement into a merely trendy in-thing.

The Mass Media

These have to be credited with much success in creating greater awareness of the problem as a whole rather than the minute issues involved. That is why much of what we hear on the radio, see on the T.V. or read in the press is something sentimental, topical and skin-deep rather than profound and analytical. Reminiscent of adolescent school time co-educational debates on Adam and Eve, the so-called discussions are agitational and confrontationist in nature, painting the 'slave driving male' as all black and hawkish, and the poor dove-like female as pure white. There has been some commendable material, too, creative in intent and thought-provoking in effect.

The Points of View

Of all the pieces that I have heard or read, perhaps among the most outstanding have been the following:

(i) A lengthy paper on the Rights of Women, in Urdu by Bano Qudsia, presented by the Lahore T.V.

(ii) And a shorter one on a similar topic, in English by Dr. Hamida Khuhro, projected by the Karachi T.V. station.

Incidentally both are by women, well-known in the country, in their respective fields. The first is a writer and playright of long standing and repute. The second is an intellectual of merit, even though quite controversial in some circles.

Both the papers are commendable for their balanced and catholic approach and deep understanding of the issues involved. They fully realise that it is not a Women Vs Man confrontation but a Man-and-Woman Partnership. Bano Qudsia, despite her rather 'romantic agony' which creeps in occasionally, has made out a convincing case for better understanding, mutual respect and cooperation between the sexes to solve this universal problem of the neglected and down-trodden woman. Likewise, Dr. Hamida Khuhro, in spite of the subliminal 'holy anger' occasionally discernible in her paper, concedes that Islam, before and above all, granted an enviable position to the woman. But she justifiably complains that these rights exist in theory rather than in actual practice. The fault is not of Islam but of its practitioners or non-practitioners. She wants these rights to be upheld, protected and granted to the Pakistani and Muslim women, in actual practice Both the writers under reference: (i) would like to avoid the fate of the lonely and over-emancipated western woman; (ii) uphold the Islamic tenets, precepts and principles; and (iii) ensure cooperation rather than confrontation with the men folk in the liberation movement of and for the women. They would, in fact, like the men to participate in this movement and not confine it to women alone – so as to make it a movement, no doubt, of and for the women, but by both men and women, in the larger and lasting interests of the Pakistani society and humanity itself.

The Up-Shot

The up-shot, in Pakistan, of the Woman's International Year has been :

(i) The participation of Pakistan in the International Conference held earlier this year at Mexico City. From

all accounts, the Pakistan delegation led by the First Lady, Begum Nusrat Z.A. Bhutto, was a gerat success.

(ii) The convening of an International Women's Seminar at Rawalpindi / Islamabad in November, 1975. This again, proved to be very fruitful and productive.

(iii) The National Assembly of Pakistan has set up a Special Committee to work on the women's rights and status in Pakistan.

(iv) Currently the 'Dowry Bill' is being hotly debated in the federal legislature, which attempts to prohibit or at least restrict the demanding or/and giving of dowry to a girl on her marriage—so as to curb greed, exploitation and avarice in marriage and allow equal chances of wedlock even to girls of poor and humble families. Thanks to the pre-partition Indian Hindu influence, marriage in Pakistan occasionally becomes a business deal and means to satisfy the get-rich-quick itch.

The above are, undoubtedly, great achievements in themselves and landmarks in the women's lib. movement in Pakistan. They are both symptomatic and significant. Being themselves the results of heightened consciousness they are, in turn, the promoters of greater awareness of the female situation and rights.

The Crux of the Matter

But they still do not quite hit the nail on the head. For they tend to over-stress some aspects, while ignoring others. It is not just a question of the woman's rights to education, marriage, divorce, property or a job. It is much more a comprehensive one of her legitimate and reasonable equality, liberty and respect, so as to ensure her a secure, decent and peaceful life in an intrinsically sound society. With the standards of education being what they are, just like every male graduate is not an intellectual, so isn't a woman. Similarly, the employ-

ment level of both men and women is very low. What with global inflation and recession, there are just not enough jobs for anybody, even in the capitalist west. In fact it is a crisis of capitalism, some opine. And equality precludes, others believe, special quotas and privileges for women, because it means competition on merit and merit alone. The village woman who works both at home and in the field, and her counter-part shanty-town and slum dweller, both, are full-time workers—not drones like the idle well-to-do.

It must be stated to the credit of the essential sanity, good sense and sobriety of the average Pakistani woman that, despite occasional confusion in her priorities, she is still, basically, home-bound and domestic. Not every woman even among the educated is job-minded. And even most career women would like to strike a viable balance between their jobs and family life. This is, of course, a big demand and challenge. She values and believes in a happy family ; and would like to ensure her children a sound up-bringing.

No, the criteria, stance and strategy of many of these 'begums' is topsey-turvey. Their point of view is myopic. For they, with their western influences and angles, are looking at the whole problem not only like the city bred elites but with the psychology of the female from the west. It is said jokingly of these begums that their men have found a good way to get them off their backs for a year ! That may make the whole thing a fad and a fashion, a fake non-issue.

It is, again, not a question of some theoretical and fancy paper rights. It is a total issue and a serious problem—concerning the whole society. To put it in a sentence, it is a three-dimensional *socio-cultural and economic problem* —involving large, bread-earning families and population explosion. It is one of bread (not butter !) and of food, clothing and shelter ; of preserving the family from starvation and keeping it together against the given colossal odds and in the context of the given socio-cultural and economic conditions. That is what distin-

guishes the plight of the Afro-Asian and Third World woman from the western lady. And that is why the terms of reference, standards, criteria and objectives—all are different. It is a question of survival in the social whole. Not of living in an exclusive world of bored convenience and comfortable ennui ; or of personal loneliness in gay crowds. There are no western-oriented givens in the Pakistani, oriental or under-developed/developing world context. The only valid givens are our own norms, mores and systems of values. The danger in accepting western 'givens' is to take their unwholesome repercussions as unavoidables. But we cannot be defeatist enough to take them for granted. It is said resignedly by some : 'Change is inevitable with industrialisation. The joint family system is bound to break up'. Everything is questionable, including all the so-called inevitables and inevitability, itself, because all things are open to human reason. The point is not the fact of inevitability, alone, but the character, nature and quality of any inevitability. It doesn't matter if the joint family system may/will/might break up or change. The vital question is : What will replace it? The joint family may or may not break up. The important thing is that the family, with its warm and noble moorings, ties, values and sentiments, should not break up but be preserved in essence. For the personal family is the fundamental unit of the social family and social order or society itself, and of the larger human family. If we are not careful of this, we may one day land up with that fearfully emancipated woman—who is emancipated almost from everything, the good along with the bad. The drug addicted, psychotic, insecure and unprotected, divorced, single or career woman, lonely and divest of hearth and home and dehumanised of all filial sentiments. We may then realise that perhaps with all its restrictive though secure and protective sharing, the joint family was after all better than no family at all, a shared home better than a broken one. A value-oriented society is preferable to a delinquent one. It needs to be clarified here that with all her social taboos, the Muslim and the Pakistani woman, is, socially and religiously, among the most well-protected and respected

of women — as a mother, sister and daughter, at least. If there is trouble with the women in-laws, that is an issue because of and among the women — all over the world. How is the male, alone, to be blamed for it ?

Conclusion

It emerges that the question of the woman's emancipation is not just of her social or political rights. It is a social or 'societal' one, for it concerns the whole society, both men and women — and children, above all. It is a complex socio-cultural and socio-economic problem and not merely a social issue. It is one of unity within diversity, of let and let live as well as of cooperative, corporate living. Of continuity along with and within change, for not all our heritage of values and institutions is a dead-weight. Therefore, as the decadent has to be discarded, the pristine has to be preserved — while learning our lessons from the rest of the world, eastern and western ; olden and modern.

This calls for a holistic, total approach. Reform and progress take time. That means peaceful evolution. Confrontations, on the other hand, generate frustration and turmoil. A good beginning has been made. It is upto us all, men and women, and our society as a whole, to decide on the future shape we want to give to our basic social traditions and institutions, including the family. And that will depend largely on the status of the woman — not as a man - fearing, man-hating adversary — but as his co-equal and life-long friend and companion — a fellow architect and preserver of the home and the society, generally. That would call for a change in point of view and orientation, stance and strategy and the fancy leadership of the fawning 'begums', above all — making them more responsive and responsible, realistic and earthy, being geared to the moderate and balanced Islamic ideals of liberalism democracy, emancipation and progressiveness.

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The Strategy Of Brain Drain: Pakistan And The Muslim World

The Strategy Of Brain Drain: Pakistan And The Muslim World

Introduction

Quite a hue and cry has been raised the last few years about the "brain drain". It is taking place all over the non-communist world. The East, generally, is losing its 'brainy chaps' to the West. Doctors, engineers and teachers, scientists and scholars, technicians and skilled workers, professionals and specialists are the most affected. The Britons go over to the U.S.A., Canada and Australia. Pakistan is no exception. Our brains have been finding their way to the U.K., France, Germany, America and Canada, and now, to the oil-rich Middle East, the R.C.D. partners, and to the Oil Gulf States. There was a time they used to go to South East Asia, the Far East and Africa. They were mostly businessmen. Disturbed political conditions dampened their enthusiasm and they began to seek alternate avenues and markets.

Universal ; Historical

This 'brain-drain business' is quite a universal phenomenon. I call it a business for two reasons. One that it is similarly

motivated, in many cases. Two, it is conducted with like finesse and sophistication ; the search and supply of the requisite manpower being managed in the same manner. A few years ago, a foreign team or individual advertised such hunt in our national dailies and toured the country for prospective talent. Even today, government departments, foreign agencies and employment exchanges insert such ads. in the newspapers, in search of the required brains. Indeed, that is the acknowledged and perhaps the best way to tap the known and unknown sources of it.

Apart from the above, individual efforts and personal contacts on either side are also made. Smuggling of manpower is quite prevalent. The passport racket is linked with it. Of course, such 'goods' are not always brainy enough to fall in the category of brain-drain. In the case of the very best and the top-notch, like nuclear scientists, physicists, thinkers and scholars, defections from one ideological camp to another have been arranged.

The word 'brain-drain' may be recent, but down through history, explorers, scientists, travellers, investors, historians, conquerors and soldiers, empire-builders and emperors, philosophers and sages, have left home and ventured abroad in search of adventure, knowledge and prospects. Sometimes this was done on an individual or group level. But occasionally it was not just a drain, it was an organised exodus, as in the colonial days. There were times when the individuals and groups concerned returned home after months or years. But there were others who settled for good in their adopted homeland. Many just perished in the process. This country and region is full of such settlers. That is how Islam, Christianity and Buddhism spread beyond their native or original frontiers. The origins, forms, manifestations and objectives of such 'brain-drain', spreading or proliferation were different. But deep below, the phenomenon was similar.

In Pakistan

But let us get back from hoary history and exotic lands to Pakistan of today. Brain-drain from here (—if we have enough brains to feed a genuine drain!) has been going on ever since Independence. But we have become—or been made—more conscious of it in the last few years. In fact, ever since the present regime stepped in. That is because when it launched on a programme of reforms in various sectors of national life, it realised that properly trained expertise and manpower were required to implement them. But these were constantly trickling out of or away from the country, if not being drained off. Most of those already abroad don't return home. The government was basically correct in making the people conscious of the prevalent situation. It is only the publicity media, both controlled and private, which, out of over-enthusiasm and fundamentally sound patriotism, and through over-publicity, dramatised and even sensationalised the matter.

The Vital Point

The government and the publicity media may be basically correct—indeed, they are. But the main point is that so long as all the programmes and reforms in which our brilliant brains can or hope to be used, remain paper-programmes, and till they are actually launched or take off, there is no use in holding on to or restricting these personnel. That would be both unfair and unreasonable. Why to keep them waiting? They will get out of touch with and practice in their field of speciality. Get rusted and decayed. What is worse, get discouraged and frustrated.

We will come back to this basic point later.

The Extent of Brain Drain

Before we begin to look into the causes of brain drain, in order to tackle the issue scientifically, we must first try to

measure the extent, if not the quantum, of it. That will not only determine, to some extent, the ways and means, methods and approaches of dealing with it, it will also reflect on the accompanying frustration, disillusionment and other fall-out symptoms, side-effects and results.

Indicators

There are three valid and main indicators of the extent of brain-drain in Pakistan. They are :

(i) The growth of the (educated) Middle Class in Pakistan.

(ii) Education and the supply of manpower in Pakistan.

(iii) Unemployment among the Educated Youth.

Let us touch these briefly, one by one.

(i) The Middle Class : Here it is time to make a distinction between general manpower and the middle class, specifically. Pakistan has provided the world abroad with both (i) non-skilled, illiterate, uneducated and semi-skilled manpower, and (ii) educated personnel. The former belong largely to the labour and 'working' classes; the latter, to the middle class. The case of brain-drain is essentially linked with the educated middle class of Pakistan. Though threatened by economic factors, costs of living, price hikes and population explosion (the last being more prevalent in the poorer classes), with increasing educational and even economic opportunities all over the world, this class, too. is on the increase, generally and on the whole.

I will now invite the reader's attention to a pocket-size handy publication, "Growth of Middle Class in Pakistan", published by the National Institute of Social and Economic Research, Karachi, in June, 1971. The following quotations from it reflect on the growth and the extent of growth of the middle class in Pakistan.

"In the context of the developing countries, the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent saw a comparatively early emergence of the middle class in the mid-eighteenth century.'

"In the developing world, the middle class intelligentsia is far more numerous and also politically far more conscious, active and influential.'

"In the developing world, all the class and social groups are still closely inter-linked and inter-connected and exercise strong influence over one another.'

"The percentage of middle class employees in the non-productive spheres of trade and industry is unusually high, being about 13% in India and Pakistan.'

"The process of Pakistanisation has brought both the medium and top positions within the reach of middle class Pakistanis.'

"The most reliable index of the growth of the non-agricultural middle class in Pakistan is provided by the income-tax returns...The improvement over time was the best in the case of the upper middle class, whose growth rate increased steadily from 1.4% per annum between 1950—51 and 1955—56 to 8.8% between 1955—56 and 1960—61, and 15.3% between 1960—61 and 1963—64.'

"In years since Independence, there has been a great proliferation of mental labour.'

"A large part of the student society's future scientists, engineers, technicians, teachers and brain-workers in general comes from the broad-based middle class.'

"The number of students has sky-rocketed in all the developing countries.'

"Plenty of indirect evidence of the remarkable growth of the middle class in Pakistan is provided by diverse statistical resources relating to banking, postal savings, money order issues, NIT operations, insurance, motor vehicle registration, air movement of passengers, number of telephones and radio licences and power consumption in households.'

"The underlying population base of these indicators of middle class growth is provided by the fact that between 1951 and 1961, Pakistan's total population increased at the annual rate of 2.14% and its urban component at the rate of 4.57%

"The world has moved beyond absolute ideologies towards more subtle and flexible strategy, and class struggle and class conflict are no longer indispensable for social development, due to the growing role of the middle class specialist."

To sum up the above :

(i) The middle class in Pakistan is definitely on the increase.

(ii) This growth has an historical base, going back at least to the middle of the last century.

(iii) The expansion also has a social importance and function, in that it stabilizes society, socially and ideologically, in tune with its inherent dynamism.

(iv) The growth in the middle class is a reflection of agricultural and economic growth, and population and educational expansion.

(v) Not all of this growth is ensured full employment, career opportunities and bright prospects. And, therefore, the brain-drain.

Now we can turn to the second indicator of brain-drain in Pakistan.

(ii) Education and the Supply of Man-Power in Pakistan : I will, in this context, refer the reader to a Planning Commission's (Pakistan) publication by the above title, prepared by Ryszard A. Karwanski, a foreign adviser to the Planning Commission, in 1970. And I quote from the publication, below :

> "While Pakistan has attained a fairly rapid growth of the economy over the last decade, like many other developing countries, it is faced with the situation that a significant part of its human resources is not fully and productively utilised. Such a wastage of human capital is a matter of serious concern, particularly because the educated labour force, though it forms a relatively small part of the total labour force, can not all find gainful employment." (—A.F.A. Hussain—"Preface").

At least some of these unemployed educated make a successful bid to go abroad.

> "The term manpower resources refers to the civilian labour force or shortly labour force which comprises all the civilian economically active population.'...
>
> "Pakistan is a predominantly agricultural country. About 60% of the total labour force is in the agricultural sector.'
>
> "The expected shift of the employment share from agricultural to non-agricultural sectors which will come along with development of the country may affect the overall level of crude activity rate.'
>
> "The employment share of the agricultural sector shows, regardless of conceptual difference of the labour

force, a decrease (both sexes) from 65% in 1951 to 59% in 1961.'

"For all Pakistan the manpower share in the agricultural sector will be decreasing from 74.8% in 1960 to 62.2% in 1980, i.e., by 12.6 percentage points.'

"Pakistan with its female activity rate of 14% for population aged 15 and above, is amongst the lowest in the world. In the region to which Pakistan belongs geographically, the female average activity rates range from 28.1% to 36.3%. The range increases if predominantly Muslim countries, are excluded, i.e., in Asia from 34.2 to 40.8%—because in most countries of the world, livelihood is considered to be primarily the responsibility of the male population and this is particularly true in Muslim countries, most of which are among countries of the world having the lowest female activity rates.'

Further—"Female activity rates for urban areas differ significantly from those for rural areas...More than 85% of total female labour force in Pakistan is in the agricultural sector.'

"In 1961 about 87% of the total civilian labour force in Pakistan was male labour force. For East and West Pakistan, respective figures are 84% and 91%."

We conclude from the above that :

(i) The supply of educated manpower in Pakistan is on the increase. "The annual growth of the labour force in Pakistan ranges from 2.4% between 1960–65 to 2.9% between 1965—1990....Thus, within about 25 years, the total labour forces of Pakistan will double."

(ii) A small but rapidly increasing percentage of this is educated.

(iii) Not all of the (ii) above are gainfully employed. Naturally, many of them try to tap foreign sources, also, in search of fulfilling or at least paying employment.

(iv) The heaviest burden of livelihood is on the males. They being more enterprising and less inhibited by social factors and traditional taboos, venture abroad, if necessary, for that purpose.

Finally, we can turn to the third main determinant or indicator of brain-drain in Pakistan.

(iii) Unemployment and the Educated in Pakistan : Once again I will solicit the reader's attention to another publication of the Pakistan Planning Commission, issued in 1970 under the title : "Unemployment among the Educated Youth" by A. Jozefowicz :—

"While the country is experiencing an acute shortage of certain skilled manpower, large-scale unemployment among educated youth presents a serious problem of imbalance in manpower planning.... If the education system continues to turn out largely unemployable manpower, and industry continues to manifest a very weak demand for the skills of the educated, then the nation is faced with a very crucial issue of structural disequilibrium between demand for and supply of skilled human labour."

(– Foreward by M.M. Ahmad).

The point that I must make here is that not all the educated unemployed are unemployable. In some cases, e.g., those of the highly qualified people from abroad, there are not (enough) suitable or well-paying jobs in Pakistan. In others, there are not enough jobs, at all. But I do agree in principle that it is basically a matter of manpower planning—vis-a-vis education

and job opportunities, and of agricultural and industrial development.

"While the full assessment of the educated work-force misutilization, allowing for the actual time of work, would most probably reveal higher rates, (one) estimate also bears witness that the proportion of idle, unemployed and under-employed amounted by 1961 to more than 17% of those who either passed matriculation level or at least gained the practical experience to run similar jobs with those who received formal training."

That was in 1961, i.e., about 15 years ago. The situation is reported to be worse now. Thus : "With the net stock of the educated manpower growth in Pakistan at an annual rate of about 9%, and the reciprocal extension of the employment capacity of modern sector of less than 5% a year, the imbalance between the school graduates and employment creation must have consequently deepened.'

"It is estimated that against an annual compound rate of overall growth of labour force of 3.2%, the educated component of labour force recorded a growth rate of 7.6% a year during 1963—68. Further, the bulk of the population being under 15 years of age, the net entry into the labour force during 1968—80 has been estimated to be 55 millions as opposed to 31 millions estimated during 1951-65."

Of course, we must not forget that the two Planning Commission studies under reference were made earlier and released in 1970. They were thus applicable to the whole of Undivided Pakistan (East and West). The figures, therefore, are not quite valid today, so far as they cover the whole country. But the conclusions still stand.

That is because :

1. "In Pakistan, 30% of the labour force is under-employed.'

2. "Total population in 1972 was 61.69 millions."

3. "According to I.L.O. calculations, 32% of the population constitutes the labour force."

4. "Agricultural under-employment at the rate of 30% is 4.03 millions."

5. "Every year 7,00,000 persons are entering the labour force.'

6. "In urban areas the percentage of unemployment is 20%.

7. "Unemployment of educated persons in the Punjab (alone) is 22.3%."

8. "Unemployment at the post-graduate level is 42.9%".

(Ref: "Unemployment in Pakistan" by Mohammad Nawaz)

"Factors of Unemployment"

"The following group of causes have been identified as responsible for the present situation :

(a) Demographic factors.

(b) The Educational system.

(c) Organisational structure of the economy leading to inadequate effective demand for educated manpower.'

"Although it has not been possible to come out with any definite estimate of actually unemployed educated manpower beyond the stock figures of 1961, ..the situation has assumed a proportion to deserve initiation of employment promotion measures for educated personnel. It is estimated that the unemployment situation has worsened considerably since 1961, and during 1966-69, annually 2,50,000 to 3,00,000 educated persons have entered the labour market in search of jobs. Risk of unemployment is greater for an educated man compared to the residual category of manpower. Unemployment is not

limited to those who can afford to be 'choosy' in accepting employment. The duration of unemployment and the distribution of risk of unemployment between various categories of educated manpower as worked out, points out the intensity and seriousness of the situation."

To eptomise the above :

(i) Unemployment among the educated Pakistanis is an expanding and startling fact.

(ii) The main reasons are demographic, educational and economic.

(iii) **"The solution of the problem will need a higher rate of economic growth**, and a rapid pace of industrialisation along with educational reforms. *It is recommended that adjustment of future expansion of educational facilities should be made within limits of effective employment demands.*"

(iv) **But all this will be defeated by the present rate of population growth.**

(v) **One of the employment promotion measures for educated personnel is brain-drain.** Not convert or stealthy but planned and programmed scientifically.

Estimate of Brain-Drain

The Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, published a study by the above name, in 1970. It was 'limited in definition to the professional class, those with at least degree level education or its equivalent, and only to those persons within the definition who had lived abroad for more than four years'. I think this delimitation was quite pertinent. It also serves the general purpose of this paper—except that the term 'degree' be followed by the expression 'or established skill, expertise and/or specialisation and experience in one's chosen

field'. As such, its conclusions and recommendations should be welcome.

Broadly speaking, we can easily classify the people affected by brain-drain into two main categories :

(i) Those studying abroad – and especially those of them who are willing, keen, trying or likely to stay on/ get employed/ or even settle there. And :

(ii) Those already working, employed or settled abroad.

It has been estimated in the Planning Commission paper under reference that the largest number of our students are in the USA and then UK. After them came Canada and West Germany. Similarly, Pakistanis employed abroad were largely in the UK, USA and Saudi Arabia.

HIGH—LEVEL MANPOWER IN SELECTED COUNTRIES ON 31-12-1966.

Occupation	Working	Studying	Total
Medical	2,446	434	2,880
Engineering	190	1,269	1,459
Teaching	79	112	191
Accounting	28	615	643
M. Sc., Ph.D., etc.	23	751	774
Others	4,919	1,391	9,354
Total :-	8,689	4,572	13,261

Please Note

The above is the total figure over the years as on 31-12-66 and not the annual rate of brain-drain. Many more, of course, want to go abroad but cannot, for various reasons.

It has been frankly admitted in the study that the figures were incomplete. Not all concerned had been registered or even counted. And the number would have increased since 1966. Even so, the data is revealing for being so infinitesimal.

Comparison

Compare the above with the hundreds of graduates, doctors, engineers, teachers and lawyers turned out every year in Pakistan. And the number of educational institutions and professional colleges—even universities or mini-universities —(open and closed, in the air and down on earth) started since 1966. Estimate also the swelling number of the **educated unemployed in the last decade. One would come to the conclusion that the hue and cry about brain-drain in Pakistan is just a storm in a tea cup. No more.** And that is quite the opinion of the study under reference also. Thus :

Conclusion

"For the period up to December 31, 1966, covered by this report, Pakistan's drain of high-level manpower was not large, amounting to approximately 8,000 persons.'

"The magnitude and extent of brain-drain, when compared with available estimates of stock at home, is not such as to be termed 'alarming', (except in the case of doctors and medical personnel).'

"Future outflow to U.K. and other countries will be likely to decline except to the U.S.A."

"The number of Pakistani migrants willing to return home of significant, but less than 10% of those willing could be absorbed at home.'

"The placement in Pakistan of the brains currently abroad is difficult due to rigid employment practices — besides *low effective home demand* for such presonnel."

"Number of unemployed among educated youth at home is alarming and the situation is likely to *worsen* in future."

"During their stay abroad, the brains do maintain interest in national affairs and remittances sent home are believed to be

substantial, and some of the talented ones do contribute to human knowledge through their research which, under inadequate home conditions, might not have been possible."

"Organisations to assist placement of 'brains' at home have not been very effective in the past."

Case and Strategy for Brain-Drain

The above-cited conclusions, findings and suggestions of the Planning Commission study on the subject make out, in fact, a case *for* and in *support* of brain-drain. They also point to the necessity of formulating a strategy to promote and programme it, to the greater advantage of the country and the individuals concerned. These persons (very often) have the required experience and qualifications—professional, educational, linguistic, personal and social, including foreign experience, to necessitate and feed such a strategy. The main reasons to present this point of view are :—

(i) Pakistan has a surplus of educated manpower, talented youth and brain labour or intellectual labour. Other countries are in need of it. It deserves to be exported like any other commodity in demand. By doing so, we will be solving our own employment problem, partly, and also helping others.

(ii) The exportable brains are prospective foreign exchange earners, with the added advantage that they cannot be sub-standard — or they will be rejected like other exported merchandise. More so, if we expand the group to include business, industrial and commercial brains.

(iii) If motivated properly and inspired well, they can be successful ambassadors of the country and earn much goodwill for it on the basis of person-to-person diplomacy and human relations.

We can now summarise the salient causes of brain-drain, which contain more justification for a strategy ensuring brain-drain.

CAUSES OF BRAIN-DRAIN

According to the Planning Commission report under discussion, 'The major causes of the brain-drain were, in the order of importance, (a) home conditions in general, (b) the need to improve academic qualifications ; and (c) monetary considerations.'

The above are not just causes, they are valid reasons and understanable justification. To these I will add :

(i) Expanding avenues abroad for studies and employment, The number of foreign scholarships for education abroad are increasing and should increase.

(ii) "Home conditions in general" mentioned under (a) above is a rather naive expression. I would dilate to explain that both the political and economic situation at home is rather uninviting, if not disillusioning. Sensitive and conscientious souls prefer the freer airs and atmospheres of personal liberty, democratic practices and economic security abroad.

(iii) Ideological, cultural and political generation gaps in Pakistan (I have dealt with this separately in detail in another paper).

Instinct of Survival

(iv) The precarious regional situation resulting from India's recent nuclear expansionist trends is also quite discouraging. From Japan to Israel, this whole area is likely to suffer from a chain reaction of nuclear proliferation in the next few years. Smaller nations are trigger-happy nations, generally speaking. And the super-powers might also like to let them become the testing

ground for future nuclear activity rather than suffer from it themselves. In these circumstances, many would like to play safe and stray or stay abroad. Others, for more patriotic and nationalistic reasons, might wish to plead the country's case in foreign lands. This is in keeping with the earlier proposal of having informal diplomats among the pressure groups and power elites outside. In other words, to build up an 'infra-structure' or lobby of favourable opinion among influential intelligentsia, brains and intellectuals abroad *at all times*. This takes time and has to be built up over the years, so that it can pay dividends at the moment of crisis and in the hour of need. Push-button diplomacy is the prerogative of the big powers, only.

AVENUES, OPENINGS AND CHANNELS AND THE BRAIN-DRAIN DIPLOMACY

The field has to be properly surveyed and sources tapped, to place our brains abroad in the right positions and areas. But we must remember that our brain-drain diplomacy can only be a projection and implementation of our foreign policy. After India's nuclear detonation, we need to normalise relations with all our neighbours, including India and Afghanistan. We also have to neutralise our opponents and adversaries, strengthen existing friendships and win over new friends. We must convince the world of our abidingly peaceful intentions. But there can be no effective and meaningful peaceful professions and proclamations for people outside, without there being genuine peace at home. That is best possible in a truly free and democratic atmosphere. A workable ideology—a believable and viable one, is badly needed.

THE MUSLIM WORLD

As stated earlier, there is demand for our brains all over the free world--in the UK and Europe, America and Canada, and

closer home, in Afro-Asia, the Middle East, the RCD countries and the Muslim world generally. But in this paper we must confine ourselves to the Muslim countries, only.

The Muslim world is full of prospects and possibilities. It is rich in natural resources, in agricultural products, finished goods and minerals. Its oil wealth attracted the head-lines after its recent oil sanctions and embargo. Such pressure tactics can be usefully employed to ensure peace and prosperity in the region. It has been estimated that the Gulf area alone contains almost 60% of the proven oil reserves of the world. Iran's rate of economic progress has been estimated at 140% per annum. Saudi Arabia has the largest known oil reserves. Kuwait and Abu Dhabi are the world's richest countries. There are about 45 Muslim countries in the world, from Morocco to Indonesia, in Afro-Asia. Their total estimated population is over 600 million or 2/5th of the world population. The average growth rate of the Muslim population is 2.5% per annum. Muslim countries are said to have a per capita income of about $ 100.

The Muslim world has a rich cultural and religious heritage, being the second largest religious mass in the world, next only to Christianity. Signs of affinity and cooperation in it are manifest and evident. Efforts have been made time and again to unite the Muslims all over the world. The RCD, the Trucial States and UAE, the Arab Brotherhood, are only some examples. The second Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore early held in 1974 and the Islamic Bank—all happily point in the same direction.

Colonialism—old, neo and new—and threats to Islam or the Muslim world, as also to the free world and the Afro-Asian and developing countries, all emphasise the need for closer ties in the Third World and among the Muslim nations. Pakistan has always played a conciliatory and creative, peaceful and purposive role in this. Because of India's nuclear power and

threat, there is greater need for closer cooperation in the Muslim world in all fields—economic, political, defence, strategic, diplomatic, educational and cultural. India's nuclear expansion along with Russia's Asian Security Plan and the Indo-Russian collusion in the Afro-Asian(—Indian) Ocean may mean a virtual ring around Afro-Asia. In this factual context it may be rather wishful at this stage to expect an Indo-Russian frigidity or even mutual cooling off over : (i) Bangladesh, (ii) hegemony over South Asia and the Afro—Asian Ocean, or (iii) India's nuclear potential and independence of Russia. All this proposed unity is possible only with proper manpower. The idea of a Commonwealth of Muslim Nations or States is motivated by the same spirit of goodwill and fraternity. Thus we see that this tension-driven zone can be converted into a pressure-free and peaceful region; which would exert a peaceful, sobering and balancing influence on the rest of the world—at least the developing, Third World. But for this the essential pre-requisites are :—

(i) Regional tensions and differences should be minimised, if not eliminated.

(ii) The arms race in the area be controlled.

(iii) The pace of industrialisation stepped up.

(iv) Indian and other outside and divisive influences controlled, if not cut off.

THE PROSPECTS

Pakistan has experience and even expertise in certain fields, know-how and technological skill, agricultural produce, raw materials and finished goods. Above all, it has surplus educated manpower, brains and mental labour. Sustained and seasoned efforts can be made to place these at the service of brotherly Muslim countries—which are essentially under-developed, over 50% being extremely poor, which import such personnel from the western world and even India, for they

depend heavily on the developed would for industrialisation. In fact, Bharat seems to be beating us even in this game. It is trying to capture markets, employment avenues and even influence in the Muslim world. This has to be replaced by urgent and active economic and defence cooperation among the Muslim countries. That would better their lot, enhance their prestige and improve their political strength and bargaining power.

PLAN AND PROGRAMME

We Pakistanis have to gain our rightful place in the Muslim hearts and minds. Proper and wide ranging, fore-sighted short and long-term plans and programmes have to be evolved. But the best way this can be done is to offer 'best trade relations' and the very best products—human and material, and at competitive, in fact, favourable rates and prices. Several other proposals for economic cooperation in the Muslim world have also been made from time to time. Some of these are to have :

(i) A Muslim Common Market.

(ii) A common currency.

(iii) Joint economic ventures, especially in petroleum, rubber, cotton, palm oil, palm kernel, tin, gum Arabic, raw jute and other agricultural products and food stuff. Of these, the Muslim world supplies 20% (cotton) to 100% gum of the total world demand.

(iv) Economic assistance.

(v) Reduced oil rates.

(vi) An Islamic Development Bank.

(vii) A Muslim World Reserve Bank.

(viii) Favourable immigration policies.

Cooperation in Defence has also been emphasized greatly. (--"Prospects of Economic Cooperation of the Muslim World"-- by : M. Tariq Waseem).

MUSLIM WEALTH

The Muslim world is particularly rich in the following primary products :-

Item	Percentage of World Supply
1. Crude Petroleum	60%
2. Rubber	75%
3. Cotton	20%
4. Palm oil	64%
5. Palm kernel	44%
6. Tin	54%
7. Gum Arabic	100%
8. Raw jute	80%

We must learn to cater to the needs and requirements of the Muslim world, not impose and thrust things on it. The needs and requirements of the countries concerned have to be obtained and analysed. We must try to furnish and supply that what they require. It is, of course, well-known that they need doctors, engineers, teachers, defence advisers, technicians, economists and even administration specialists. Cultural pacts and organisations, language institutes, learned bodies, educational institutions, and the exchange of teachers, students, intellectuals and intelligentsia, citizens and leaders of opinion in various walks of life, should help to pave the way for opening up fresh vistas and new avenues to implement the brain-drain strategy and the educated manpower diplomacy.

It is also necessary that before exporting brains :

(i) We groom them adequately in the language, culture, history, and current affairs and policy of the host country; its ideals and aspirations.

(ii) Motivate them ideologically to acquit themselves as successful informal ambassadors of Pakistan.

Foreign language learning in Pakistan is getting more and more popular. This trend needs to be encouraged and put to good use. The population of our students, professionals and brains abroad can be diversified, especially to Muslim lands. Such a 'task force' of brains abroad is necessary to supplement the efforts of career diplomats. More foreign students and teachers can be invited and such exchanges fostered to promote goodwill and fraternity among the Muslim countries.

Thus we see, that by a policy of producing and exporting our brains and even brawn, and by scientifically planned and executed population migration, we can have abroad a population tilt in favour of Pakistan and build up a Pakistan and Muslim World Lobby. This is possible in all states with a liberal immigration policy, including the U.S.A.

No doubt, we have plans and proposals at home which may require educated manpower to execute. We have our Integrated Rural Development Plans, Medical and Education Reforms, and Works Programmes, etc. But they are yet only in the offing. They will need personnel in the times to come. At the moment we can easily spare the requisite manpower for our Muslim brothers, and thus take one more step in further strengthening our traditional fraternal ties with them.

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Prospects of Pak-Afghan Detente: A Religio-Cultural Approach

Prospects of Pak-Afghan Detente: A Religio-Cultural Approach

Common Factors

Like many neighbours, we have so much in common with Afghanistan—including the proverbial neighbourly love-hate syndreme in some form or other, that occasionally, non-seriously, half-heartedly, in one case, and almost persistently, in the other, even claims to each other's sovereign territory are laid. History, religion, language, race, culture and geo-politics are the most important of the common factors. Yet ironically, tragically, despite these, we have not been able to smoothen our difference and get close to each other. So far we have failed to turn these common factors into unifying forces—though with all this rich potential, that is the most natural thing that should have happened.

The Intention: Detente Through Unifying Forces

It is my intention in this paper to try to prove that even now it is quite possible to make an effort to effect a detente with Afghanistan on the basis of the afore-mentioned common factors and potential unifying forces. Because these factors and forces

are the eternal and undeniable facts of our situation and relationship. Out of them, history and geo-politics have so far been used against us in a grand, unholy international alliance, chess-game, trap, check-mating, encirclement, pincer-politics, narrowing or closing up, conspiracy—etc., etc.—call it what you will. Religion, culture and language have been exploited in a bid to lure some of our nationals and to nibble at our frontiers and lands.

Motivation; Optimism

By now it will be clear that this article is motivated by: (i) a desire to improve relations with a close Muslim neighbour and brother in religion; and (ii) through that, to contribute to the efforts for peace in the region. Obviously there is much optimism even in the choice of the subject. But good faith, intentions and optimism have to be balanced with the living realities of a given contemporary situation, in order to achieve the desired results.

Living Reality

What are the contemporary realities of the existing state of affairs of the Pak-Afghan relations ? To understand these, we must pin-point, define and delimit the compulsions and pressures, forces and factors which influence and even determine, if not dictate, Afghanistan's options—and even our own. For this we have to go back to history and rely on geo-politics.

Limited Options

Let us straight-away concede that just as our options may be limited, Afghanistan, too, is pressurised in its relations with us by :

1. Its history and geo-politics.

2. International power-politics and regional alignments.

History and Geo-Politics

Afghanistan is 'a *land-locked country* .....which occupies a *formidable position* in the North West of Pakistan. Herein we find both the Americans and Russians vying with each other to modernise the communications system. Both are aware of her *strategic position*. The British considered Afghanistan a 'buffer state'. (Dr. Syed Razi Wasti in his foreword to : "The Survival of Afghanistan" by Col. N.D. Ahmad).

Between Two Old Giants

'How a small Asian state like Afghanistan could resist the formidable onslaught from two imperialist giants—Russia and Britain—is a fascinating study ; apparently something of a miracle ! For it was a 'land of warring and warlike tribes' which 'preserved its integrity in the 19th century, despite being sandwitched between the swelling Russian menace and the compelling British dominance in the region.'

Strategy of Survival

What was Afghanistan's strategy of survival? What were the reasons-which enabled it to live to this day ? Col. N.D. Ahmad has tried to answer this in his brief but informative study. "The Survival of Afghanistan". I will quote him briefly, below :

> "It will be a rewarding study to know how Afghanistan, the land of warring and warlike tribes, preserved its integrity in face of the British dominance which twice took the form of actual occupation. The nineteenth century also witnessed the Russian conquest of almost all the states of Central Asia but, in spite of the Russian menace growing ever stronger in her immediate north, Afghanistan kept her place on the world map. Sandwitched between the two most formidable imperialisms of those days, her ultimate survival was apparently not less than a miracle.

'Afghanistan', Amir Abdur Rahman said in his memoires, 'is like a poor goat on whom the lion and the bear have both fixed their eyes, and without the protection and help of the Almighty deliverer, the victim cannot escape very long'. The victim, however, not only escaped unscathed, but held the two imperial giants permanently at bay".

"The common impression of how Afghanistan managed to survive the expansionist designs of the two colossuses of the nineteenth century can be described in one sentence, viz., it was due to the *tacit understanding between the two powers* to keep her as a *buffer* between their respective empires in Asia. But this is not all. One important factor in the historic drama, is the part played by the common man, without which the Afghan survival was not possible, whatever the understanding between the two imperial powers."

Two Main Reasons

So the two main reasons for Afghanistan's survival are :

1. Anglo-Russion Understanding : The tacit understanding between Russia and Britain to keep it alive, at least let it exist as a "buffer state"—which may be somewhat likened with a "peace zone" in contemporary parlance.

The course of events favoured this understanding. These included the diplomatic and military moves made by Russia and Great Britain to counteract each other's advances in Asia. "The safety of their victim lay in their counteractions which they had to resort to so repeatedly and at such a great risk of a direct conflict that they were eventually forced to accept Afghanistan as a buffer between their colonial outposts on her northern and southern boundaries." To these Col. Ahmad has added the example of and lesson from Poland, the extinction of which in 1795 as a buffer state between Russia, Prussia and Austria added to the pains and problems of Europe right till the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Of course, "as far

as Afghanistan was concerned, the European imperial menace proved a blessing in disguise. The mutual jealousy of the two imperialists necessitated a stable balance of power between them. It so happened that when they reached the vicinity of the Hindu Kush, the resources of expansion of one of them were exhausted and the imperial zest of the other get damped. They were, therefore, obliged to recognise the land around it as a buffer."

2. **Indomitable Spirit** : The second reason is the 'unbending, indomitable spirit' of the Afghan. According to the French General J.P. Ferrier, (writing in his book, "The History of the Afghans"), "The Afghans are the most turbulent nation in Asia and the most difficult to govern." The mainspring of this spirit was their 'passionate love of freedom' and 'religious fanaticism'. The Afghan's 'tenacity of purpose, unbending will power, and devious tactics' well-matched with 'the British treachery' are other qualities of their national character which have been remarked upon by many a foreign observer, in this connection.

International and Regional Power Politics

New Giants, till after the Second World War, Afghanistan was caught between two old classic imperialist giants—Russia and Britain. After India's independence in August 1973, and the British departure from the scene, old or classical imperialism was replaced by new-imperialism and neo-or new-colonialism. And, of course, the British left much of their heirlooms to India. The result is that Afghanistan today is caught between one old giant, Russia, and another new one, India—the successorin-spirit to the British. There is another variation on the old theme. Instead of the historical rivalry between Russia and Britain, there is collusion, compromise and cooperation between nuclear Russia and nuclear India on the Afghan issue. The old Russian-British rivalry has been replaced by the prevalent Russo-American one, despite their general and broader detente on spheres

of influence. Since Afghanistan is doing nothing to offend either India or Russia, both would like to maintain this buffer state ; and, in fact, enlarge it into a buffer zone by carving protectorate.

Pukhtoonistan

"Pukhtoonistan" out of errant Pakistan—which neither concedes the Indian hegemony nor is willing to vouch for Russia's Asian Security Plan. India having already aggressed against Pakistan in the case of Bangladesh and tarnished its image of in to—mop up—a self-proclaimed pacifist—made worse by its latest nuclear status, may now like Afghanistan to do its dirty job. Of course, it might be too gland to walk and annex the spoils beyond Attock or Jhelum—wherever the borders of the mythical Pukhtoonistan will end.

Ideological Subversion

Non-aggression in military terms does not mean that India is refraining from—or will in future refrain from—ideological subversion. Pukhtoonistan is just one form of it. Parochialism, regionalism and provincialism has now been coupled with religious sectarianism. The creation of Bangladesh on a regional basis attempted to knock out one pillar of the Two Nation Theory—that of cultural and historical affinity—of the Islamic culture, the Muslim Rule in India and the Freedom Movement. The experiment is being repeated in the present Pakistan. Regional cultures and aspirations are being fanned against the national ideology and culture. The nationalities bogy is being created with this very intention. The greatest foundation stone of the Two Nation Theory—our religion, Islam—is now being subverted through sectarianism. Very soon our antagonists might, God forbid, well raise the question : "Which Islam? Whose Islam ?—Of the Sunnis, Shias, etc., etc.—the Punjabis, Baluches, Pathans, Sindhis, Kashmiris—etc., etc." ?

Buffer Zone

Coming back to the buffer state of Aghanistan, Iran, another emerging colossus on the scene—and so far, a friend of Pakistan—which should be kept a friend, abidingly—would, willy-nilly, also like to let the buffer zone stay. That is in enlightened short-cum-long term self-interest, for it would like to keep the other two giants, both Russian and India, at bay. For the same reason, (apart from others), it would also favour the continued existence of present-day Pakistan.

Yet another nuclear power on the regional horizon is China. Perhaps were it not for this lasting friend and eternal sentinal, above all, (along with the other two RCD partners and same timely American intervention), West Pakistan, too, would have been declared redundant and liquidated in 1971, along with East Pakistan.

Warm Waters

Trans-continental land routes, trade channels and the lure of our warm waters are too great an attraction for the Russo-Afghan-Indian triumverate to resist. This lure is as old as history itself. That is justification enough to preserve, if not to enlarge the buffer zone. Those who place their stakes on it, also subject it to their pressure tactics. There is no free or benevolent charity. The price for protection and 'progress' (so-called) is paid in terms of collusion, submission or even subservience ; and in toeing the given lines.

The Afro-Asian Ocean

The wedlock of the two giants, Russia and India, has taken a honeymoon cruise to what is commonly but erroneously known as the "Indian Ocean." There, again, the British influence has been replaced by the Indian expansionist interests. The British left rather in a hurry, creating a vacuum. And therefore, the resultant scramble for power in the Afro-Asian Ocean, much to the fret and worry of the littoral states of South-East Asia, and even the Far East and Afro-Asia. The Americans are doing their best to have a more effective foothold and come back.

New Developments

Here are some recent and most telling headlines, both on the Afro-Asian Ocean and on Pak-Afghan relations.

(i) The Afro-Asian Ocean: Diego Garcia

The American plans of extending their military existence on the Diego Garcia Island in the Afro-Asia Ocean were commented upon by the "Hsinhua" on 27-3-1974. It was observed these proposals were denounced by the affected regional states of the Ocean. Russia, too, it was said, tried to side them by condemning this as "militarist action". But the commentary emphasized that it was precisely the USSR which had started the rat-race and the scramble for power in this Ocean, with its numerous spy-crafts and warships ever since 1965. At present 30 to 40 Russian ships could be located in the Afro-Asian Ocean; which was certainly more than the American vessels. Of course, both the super-powers stand condemnable in the estimation of the commentary under reference. But the larger blame goes to the USSR. More so, when even a section of the Indian press has been reported to have revealed that the USSR is preparing to make an underwater nuclear test in the Ocean. The best way out of this scramble for power in the Afro-Asian Ocean, and so, to end the resultant instability was to firmly check the aggressive and expansionist onslaught of the two super-powers.

The main points in mentioning the above are :

(i) Super-, big and regional-power pressure tactics and geo-political compulsions are manifesting themselves on land and at sea, in militaristic strategy and expansionist diplomacy. The pincers around us, the net and the noose, are revolving, closing up.

(ii) China is yet another nuclear power which is steadily making its presence felt, in order to restore the balance

of power and peace in this region. This is also evident from China's fast-shedding isolation and growing relations around the globe and especially with the developing countries and Afro-Asian nations. Japan is already a universally acknowledged regional power. It has the potential to go nuclear. Despite all the historically, morally and psychologically motivated anti-nuclear proliferation tradition, popular sentiment, thought and action prevalent in Japan, it has its own doves and hawks, and pro-Moscow, pro-Peking communist lobbies. It may not be long before it joins the nuclear club, for sheer survival. It is pretty close to three nuclear giants, Russia, China and India, to feel absolutely secure without that.

(ii) Pak-Afghan Relations

"When Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mr. Bhutto, was breathing fire up and down the trackless hills of Baluchistan province this week, his aim was as much to fend off covetous politicians in next door Afghanistan as to win unhappy local tribesmen back to his side. Afghanistan's President Daud, who claims to be the protector of the dissident Pathans and Baluchis across the border in Pakistan, has been returning to an ancient theme by campaigning for the creation of an autonomous region for them under the name of Pukhtoonistan. Since this region would stretch across half of Pakistan and since the Russians are reported to have cautiously endorsed the idea (while warning the Afghans the Pakistanis could drive through the Afghan army like a knife through butter), it is not surprising that Mr. Bhutto has jumped on it as a plot to dismember his country."

"The Russians are cultivating Afghanistan as the one state on their southern border which is both a neighbour of China and not allied to the west.'

"President Daud, keenly aware that his country lies at the junction of so many strong powers' interests, has adopted classic

balancing techniques to turn this weakness to profit. As a counterweight to the Russians, he is currently looking to India and Iran.'

"Iran now rivals the Soviet Union as Afghanistan's benefactor. Both Russia and Iran have agreed to freeze the price of oil sold to Afghanistan at its pre-October levels. The Shah is aiding Afghanistan mainly because he is nervous about Soviet power in the region and wants to reduce it. The most important Iranian project is likely to be the construction of a transit rout down to Bandar Abbas on the coast, which will give the Afghans an alternative to Karachi and the Soviet Union as an outlet for their trade,'

"For all the support he has got from his rich neighbours during his year in office, President Daud has had to fight an uphill struggle at home to strengthen his political base and to introduce more confidence and less ideology into his government. Wages have risen since the monarchy was overthrown a year ago, but not as much as the cost of living. The promised constitution has yet to materialise. Afghans are nervous about being seen in conversation with foreigners and the government is nervous about potential opposition, both on the left and on the right.'

"The most hopeful signs for the future are the decrease in corruption, the tightening-up of administration in key departments and the prospect that more able men will be brought into government. But shrewed and forceful as the president is said to be, at the age of 66 and with ten years as prime minister behind him, he does not look the man to haul Afghanistan into the modern age'.' (The 'Economist' August 3rd—9th August, 1974, "Afghanistan : His Rich Friend").

The above long passage from the "Economist" speaks for itself and needs no comments. It further establishes three points : (a) that there is no escape for Afghanistan from its

historic and geo-political role of a buffer state. In fact, its very survival lies in that ; (b) That the twinsome (Russia—India)—is turning into another triumverate, with the addition of Iran, in maintaining Afghanistan's traditional posture and role. We have to ensure that this does not jeopardise our existence or interests; (c) Once Afghanistan builds an alternate port of its own, Karachi's importance for it and Russia decreases proportionately. That, would, of course, reduce the pressure tactics on us—and thereby, our tensions, but it may also lessen our importance, bargaining power and means of detente.

Limitations

We can conclude from the above that any programme of a well-meant and necessary detente on our part with Afghanistan, (even on the basis of our common and binding ethnic, linguistic, socio-cultural, religious and historical factors and forces, pressures and compulsions), will be restricted, or at least determined, by the following limitations :

(i) The contemporary geo-political and regional compulsions.

(ii) The pressure tactics of the global and regional powers.

(iii) Afghanistan's amenability to them.

(iv) Their influence on Pakistan's strategy for survival.

Even so, Pakistan must tread the chosen and correct path of peace and do every thing possible to ensure a detente and fruitful modus vivendi with Afghanistan. In fact, with all its neighbours, including India.

Pakistan's Strategy

The following stance would go a long way to promote the desired goodwill :

(i) From a trigger-happy, bellicose and billigerent moodiness, Pakistan should elect the path and role of a sincere and genuine pacifist and peace-maker for itself. This will be true to its Islamic faith, tradition, and ideology and its religion, Islam, above all—for Islam means peace and brotherhood.

(ii) But that does not mean it should not be defence worthy and eternally vigilant.

(iii) However, Pakistan should avoid getting embroiled in local, regional or big-power disputes. It should, instead, concentrate on peaceful and progressive national development.

(iv) In the meantime, the trumpet majoring and big-brothering should be left to others more suited and better equipped and financed for the job. Pakistan can promote Afro-Asian and Muslim brotherhood, and reglonal and global peace.

(v) Pakistan should try to be friendly with one and all, especially its neighbours and the big powers—regional and global.

(vi) It would be advisable to encourage the regional powers like Iran and Japan to grow to their full stature and play an effectively peaceful and balancing role in the region.

(vii) Last, but not least, of all Pakistan needs to commit itself more wholesomely to its abiding friend, China.

(viii) Above all, Pakistan just cannot exist healthily without an inspiring and unifying national ideology. It can only languish that way. For on ideological state without a workable ideology is a contradic-

tion in terms. The best ideology for Pakistan is the ideology which created it—of Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-e-Azam—which believes in Islamic Secularism, Islamic Democracy, Islamic Socialism and the Islamic Welfare State.

Pakistan and Afghanistan

It is a shame and an irony that with all that fund of unifying factors—religious, linguistic, cultural, historical, territorial and geo-political, we still are generally estranged from our neighours and brothers. The fault must be ours, partly, at least. Let us have the grace and humility, the candour and honesty to admit that. "The nearer to church, the further away from God". No doubt, it takes two to make war and peace, both. But why not to opt for peace rather than war ? May be we were rebuffed and snubbed and there was little response or encouragement. Perhaps remote controls from behind or beyond the borders were active and at work. But we, too, did not try hard enough to win over our difficult or trying neighbours. And did we not also use ever so often stunts like Pukhtoonistan, Sindhu Desh, Indian-held Kashmir, the nationalities issue, etc., either to flog the opposition with, or to hoodwink or brain-wash the nation. or to integrate it artificially —or all ? I am afraid, those old hat tricks have gone too stale now to really work. One can see through them easily. National integration will have to seek sounder foundations inherent in the nation's own soil and spirit, to strike roots.

Revenge-Least Resistence

Of course, one can continue to follow the line of least resistence and indulge in tit for tat and practice 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'. We need not go to the other extreme of turning the other cheek. But there is always a mean between extremes. Let us try to follow the golden rule of the middle path—of moderation, peace and good will.

Just to drive home the point and to teach the lesson that every nation, like every individual, has its own Achille's heel, we too, can talk of the divisive races and splinter nationalities of Afghanistan. We, too, can threaten to split it neatly into two between Iran and Pakistan. Linguistically—Persian-wise and Pushto-wise. If the Afghan brand of Pakhtoonistan can wedge into Pakistan, as Pakistan's province it can cut into Afghanistan, also, with equal justification and for the same reasons.

But where would all this lead us to ? Verbal quibbling, wordy battles and more estrangement. Then why not to tread the peaceful path of diplomatic detente and co-existence ?

Revenge and retaliation, though natural and understandable human reactions, are negative and nihilistic. For they destroy or at least lessen the chances of peace.

Positive Action

The sanest and wisest way out is to launch on a persistent, peaceful and purposive programme of action to win over the Afghans, as far is humanly possible. This should be based on a recognition and proper exploitation of the following facts :—

(i) The common factors and unifying forces binding Pakistan and Afghanistan—the religio-cultural, historical and geo-political and geo-strategic compulsions and pressures.

(ii) Afghanistan is a land-locked state—which needs our land routes, airways and water channels to promote its trade, commerce and industry, exports and imports. If the situation improves to that extent, we can, one day, be on the 'best trade relations' with Afghanistan. We can, perhaps, begin by giving it reasonable concessions and facilities, incentives, and invitations.

Joint economic ventures, too, can be considered at an opportune moment.

(iii) Afghanistan is a buffer state—which can be much to our advantage. The advantages—the inherent and traditional ones—that existed in the British days. That being the acceptable fact for us and it, we can help Afghanistan to consolidate this conventional geo-political status and historical role—and thereby, to ensure its continued existence.

(iv) The indomitable and freedom-loving spirit of the Afghan, his religious zeal, and his national character must be cherished and respected. He may then learn to respect us, in turn.

(v) No strategy of action will be quite complete without frequent contacts, exchanges and good-will missions between the people, at all levels, to bring out the blessings of a common culture, language, history and religion.

(vi) The blessings of an exposure to more progressive, democratic and well-off Pakistan also need to be displayed. But for that, Pakistan will first have to be quite a model state to be regarded as a blessing—by nationals and neighbours, alike.

Through the Frontier and Baluchistan

I firmly believe that we cannot succeed in our Afghan strategy of peace, good-will and detente without approaching the Afghans through their Pakistani countrparts. Our Frontier Pathans and Baluchis provide the natural link between Pakistan and Afghanistan. We must, therefore, seek their friendship through our two frontier provinces. That is not possible without first solving our Bluchistan and Frontier issue. The best guarantee for that is democracy. These two provinces deserve

their own democratic provincial governments. If the ruling party at the Centre could not come to terms with the now banned NAP, let it try to promote a viable popular party acceptable in the said two provinces. The Muslim Leagues are regarded by most all over the country as spent forces. They don't stand much of a chance. An answer may be either a liberal and progressive religious political party, because of the religious sentiments of the people, or a democratic progressive political party which responds to their democratic aspirations and offers a good substitute for the equally spent so-called socialist parties. But the no party is not likely to go far by hoisting or imposing itself no the provincial scene. It is just not acceptable. In fact, the final answer, both to the federal and the provincial situations, might well be a nationalist government comprising the best available men in all the major and popular parties—prior to the next elections. But before that, the only, permanent, and unassailable supreme national ideology must be determined —that of Islamic Secularism, Socialism, Democracy and Welfare State, so that all party programmes are subservient to it and eth service of Pakistan.

Democracy in Pakistan will ensure it both national integration, tranquillity and stability within, and peace and security outside. That is the best way to overall peace, progress and prosperity.

That is the best way also to neutralise the Indian influence in Afghanistan. Otherwise India will once again have a ready excuse to interfere in our affairs—this time on this side of the border. Let us not forget the declaration of Mr. Swaran Singh, India's recent External Affairs Minister, in the Lok Sabha that 'India's sympathies would be entirely with Afghanistan if Mr. Bhutto's reported statement indicating a bellicose and aggressive posture towards that country was correct', (—The Hindu, Madras : July 26, 1974). India's subversive and aggressive activities against us have always worn the innocent make of sympathy for others.

Once the provinces get their due democratic rights and shares in the fruits of development, even the dissidents, rebels, hot-heads and die-hards in them will be convinced that it is more advantageous to live in and belong to Pakistan, than to buffer and buffeted-up Afghanistan or a tottering and impoverished small state like Bangladesh. For they must be convinced that these are the days of large and medium-sized countries which have a better chance of su.vival. Small ones get converted into protectorates.

Once that happens, there may not be a single voice left to plead for that myth of Pakhtoonistan -at least within Pakistan. If so, the Afghans would be in no position to agitate an issue in which those really or allegedly concerned are no longer interested. By then we may have succeeded in winning over, or at least neutralising, the Afghans, also. That way the Pakhtoonistan stunt will die its natural death—without any resort to wars or battles.

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Indian Nuclear Expansionism And Pakistan's Strategy For Survival

Indian Nuclear Expansionism And Pakistan's Strategy For Survival

India has, at last, itself exploded its decades-old myth of self-proclaimed neutrality with recent nuclear explosion in 1974. Not that the myth really needed any exposure. By its errors of omission and commission and acts of aggression and expansion, over the years, Bharat had given many pin-pricks to its bubble of neutralism and rendered enough proof of its mentality and intentions. Pakistan was seldom in doubt, even though some of its liberals vacillated between wishful thinking and disbelief vis-a-vis India, and suffered from the typical love-hate—indifference syndrom and ambivalance which was their distinguishing feature. But now, even they are convinced; and the world generally knows which way the wind is blowing.

Pakistan's Survival

This marks the beginning of a fresh look by Pakistan at itself—a look in incisive depth and self-analysis. For Pakistan was never before so much at the cross-roads than now. Its very survival is at stake, and the time at its disposal is evidently limited. Pakistan has, of necessity, to study quickly the

options open to it and make up its mind on what positive policy to pursue and what line of action to adopt from now onwards.

Ideological Strategy

Any strategy for its survival will have to be an ideological strategy. In other words, it must rise from the gross roots and spread to the shoots and very tips of the foliage. It will pervade the soul and spirit, the vitals and life fibre of the entire nation. The masses and classes, the people and the populace, alike, will be moved and motivated. The strategy, even as it rises from Pakistan's creative ideology, will inspire and channelise it afresh.

Holistic Approach

Such a strategy will not be exclusivistic or compartmentalised, concerning itself with just one aspect of national life and planning or other, e.g. defence or international relations. It will envelope every important sector of national life and will be all-pervasive. For survival is a total challenge and problem. It does not concern a limb or two, alone.

But by far the most important factors affecting and in turn, affected by, such an ideological strategy of survival will be Pakistan's domestic policy and its foreign policy. They will have to be complementary, co-existant and cooperative, in the larger and lasting interest of the nation. They cannot be independent of each other or bi-polar. A promissory and peaceful foreign policy will ill-suit a disturbed, if not bellicose and belligerent, home policy Confrontation at home arising out of provincial, political, party or personal polarisation, is bound to reflect badly on and create doubts about even the most well-intended of foreign policies.

The Objectives

India's nuclear threat is not confined to Pakistan, alone. It menaces not only the entire so-called subcontinent, but the

whole region. It is a South and South-East Asian colossus. It is a challenge to Afro-Asia, the third world and the Muslim countries. As such, Pakistan's objectives are not exclusively nationalistic or based on enlightened self-interest, alone. They are convincingly altruistic, humanitarian and peaceful. They intend to knit all the areas mentioned earlier to form a united front in order to deter the Indian nuclear menace of expansion in almost all directions—which are, in any case, easily predictable. The only positive deterrent so far is China. Other global powers, can, if only they so wished, exert a moral influence and even pressure. If energy and oil producers can use their sanctions, the big powers could also use their economic and military aid, technological and strategic cuts, checks and balances. In fact, they are adept in employing pressure tactics of all kinds.

Common Unifying Factors

Common objectives, goals and aims can, indeed, be cementing forces. But very often they only form the base and beginnig. Other unifying factors have to be discovered and evolved, to build up and upon this initial unity. Let us try to list these, so for as Afro-Asia goes. Some of them are inherent and historical, while others are a direct result of the Indian challenge. To my mind, the most important of these are :

For Afro-Asia

(i) The common Indian threat and precedent of nuclear proliferation and the resultant question of survival.

(ii) Faith in progressive and liberal economic and political democracy.

(iii) Desire to protect and preserve national freedom at all costs.

(iv) Economic development, progress and prosperity so as to end poverty and exploitation and to ensure self-sufficiency and modernisation.

(v) Regional and global peace.

(vi) Afro-Asian brotherhood.

(vii) Common historical and cultural ties and heritage.

In The Muslim World

Apart from and in addition to the above, Pakistan is united with the Muslim brotherhood through their common faith and religion, Islam. This world is rich in natural resources and manpower. If utilized properly, these inherent assets can change the face of this region, if not of the whole world.

Scheme of Action

It is not enough to discover and list the above unifying factors. They have to be activated and put to good use. A comprehensive line of action has to be charted out in detail. Bilateral and regional political and military alliances, common and cooperative economic projects, best trade relations and unifying socio-cultural ventures evolved. The entire region needs to be motivated and inspired to express the much felt and professed spirit of unity, in manifest and continued action.

Pakistan's Experiments

So far Pakistan has experimented most unsuccessfully in bureaucratic governance, military rule, laissez faire, bureaucratism, feudalism, industrialism, capitalism, controlled and rationed democracy etc. etc. If these could not unite the whole of Pakistan, how can they possibly be expected to unify the Muslim world or Afro-Asia—which includes both the Muslims and non-Muslims.

1. PAKISTAN'S OPTIONS

(i) In Foreign Relations. Ideological Policy

In its foreign policy, Pakistan's best choice is to rely on the common unifying factors discussed earlier in regard to Afro-

Asia and the Muslim world. Those factors are both realistic and comprehensive. They cover broad and humanistic principles of active, purposive and progressive, peaceful and cooperative co-existence. No one could object to them, for they are based on the facts of the contemporary international scene and situation. They suggest an independent foreign policy determined by enlightened national interest and the elements of national power.

(ii) Domestic Policy

All provinces, people and parties in Pakistan ardently profess and wish for the preservation, promotion and perpettuation of :

(i) Islam and Pakistan's basic ideology.

(ii) Democracy.

(iii) Economic progress and development.

(iv) Peace and prosperity.

(v) National independence and solidarity.

Let these be heartily accepted as Pakistan's common unifying factors, for they form the basis of Pakistan's ideology. Let them, therefore, mark the beginning of a new and lasting detente at home and the starting point of a creative, peaceful and progressive domestic policy. Only when we are truly peaceful and democratic at home, we will be taken seriously abroad as pacifists and peace markers.

(iii) Islamic Democracy and Islamic Secularism

The above, in brief, means Islamic Democracy and Islamic Socialism manifest in Islamic Secularism and the Islamic Welfare State.

For us no system is not greater than Islam. And, of course, materialistic, scientific, Godless or atheistic socialism is simply inconceivable in a Muslim State. As such, in Pakistan, and in a Muslim State, Islamic Democracy and Islamic Socialism have the best chances of survival—more than any kind of socialism ever had. That is bound to happen so long as Islam remains the living religion and faith of the masses. This is not just an unassailable truth and the most predominant historical factor it is also the most determinate contemporary fact. Party politics are not greater than national unity. Great leaders have been led by the reality of success and failure and of changing times. They are humble enough to accept temporary setbacks and detours, and to adopt, adjust and mould themselves according to the facts of life and its myriad and ever-changing experiences and realities. It is time to make such a beginning in Pakistan, also.

If time and galloping events have overtaken capitalism and disproved it, let us accept the verdict with grace, humility and gratitude. And we have the ability to do so. For we have had the character and conduct, courage and fortitude to accept the bitterest of realities in the past. And the concepts of the Islamic Socialism, Islamic Secularism, Islamic Democracy and the Islamic Welfare State are no mean ideals and substitutes. For Islam is truly more socialistic and democratic than any other creed and ideology and its objective is a free, egalitarian, liberal and progressive welfare state based on the brotherhood of mankind. It preaches the rule of the golden mean and middle path in all matters, spiritual and mundane. As such, it upholds enlightened secularism ; and discards the distinction between the secular and spiritual as not quite necessary.

2. STRATEGIC OPTIONS

(i) Strong Defences

The days when Pakistanis themselves wanted to cut their armed forces to size, have gone for good. We simply cannot

do without strong and impregnable defences. But these need not always be snonymous with conventional concepts, strategies and forces. The important thing is to keep our minds—and options—open—to study all the possibilities, combinations and permutations – with reference to the elements of national power and of land, air and sea power. A people's army is no menace to a conventional one. The two can coexist and cooperate, to serve the national objectives. They can supplement and complement each other.

Another more important point is that never again should the armed forces be allowed to dabble in active politics. Only true democracy can ensure that, for it provides the necessary ventilation, checks and balances and keeps the forces professionally active and busy.

But the fact remains that there is no substitute for well trained, modern and properly equipped armed forces. To get the best out of them (and to counter ideological subversion), they have to be ideologically inspired and nationalistically motivated. They have to believe in the national causes and objectives and have faith in the nation and its leadership –both political and military.

(ii) Armed Forces—Future Role

The forces should be and are likely to be kept at bay and in their proper a political place. They may stage a come back to politics only, either : (i) if the government itself provides them the opportunity by its weakness : or (ii) the government invokes their protection. But keeping them engaged professionally—in the context of the Indian threat – will lessen this danger: for professional and modern, scientific soldiering is a full-time, challenging and onerous job, as against the colonial type of exercising and trimming done by them in the past. Modernisation would certainly give them more confidence and power. But that would be counter-balanced by a strong and stable people's political and democratic government. Let it be taken for granted that neither

a weak civilian government nor deficient armed forces can ever meet the Indian menace. That is possible only by having : (i) a thoroughly united and integrated nation, (ii) served by a strong and stable, democratic, popular and paramount political government, (iii) which is supported by subservient but strong, scientific and modern, apolitical armed forces.

(iii) Nuclear Umbrella

The psy-war launched to constantly expose India's designs to the world is both necessary, well-conceived and ably executed. It is also a befitting strategy to seek protective guarantees and assurances, peace zones and nuclear-free regions. But will appeals secure the shielding umbrella ? Will paper promises guarantee the necessary protection ? Who will reckon and who will judge after we are no more ? Will the promissory restraining hands act in time ? What will be the regional repurcussions and global implications of such action ?... What of the continuing campaign for non-proliferation and bans? Is it a losing battle? Even so, it is certainly worth carrying on, for the cause is worth fighting for.

Umbrellas and Allies

There can be no umbrellas without allies and friends. But will any one really come forward to hold up the parasol ? Isn't it a rather sunny, seaside thought ? If not, what price will be demand? Can we afford it?

The Protectors : the Price

America has been too involved first in impeachments and resignations etc. at home and now electioneering, and detentes abroad, to offer much hope. Russia's Asian Security Plan is hanging over—South Asia for long, now. Is China, then, our main/only abiding friend and ally? Russia has to be neutralised and won over. The ultimate hope and solution may be in a lasting Sino-Soviet detente.

Others

But the threat is regional. The remedy, then, if there is any sure one, can not be localised. Can it become an R.C.D., Muslim world, South and South-East Asian or Afro-Asian joint venture—in some form or combination ? —bilateral and regional.

(iv) Should We Go Nuclear?

Should we ? Can we ? In partnership? As a pool or club? With whom ? How many? Under whose leadership? China, Japan, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Indonesia and, even Saudi Arabia can play a pivotal role in this. But go nuclear at what cost and price? To what extent? With what purpose ? Self-defence? Or economic development, alone ? Starvation or at least tight belt austerity will be one certain price. But nations have suffered and sacrificed much more for survival and liberty. Again, this is best possible under an ideologlcal inspiration. But better to stick to 'atoms for peace, progress and prosperity, only.

(v) Nuclear Free Zone

Various non-nuclear nations (e.g. Sri Lanka and Iran) have pleaded for declaring this region a nuclear-free peace zone. The reasons for that are obvious, mainly, fear for self and concern for others. Another reason may be the strategy to forestall further developments. This proposal, too, is of the nature of a plea for a nuclear umbrella The motivation is the same : to avoid going nuclear or getting embroiled in the nuclear chess game of big power power-politics. To steer clear of the nuclear arms rat race. Or conversely, to give a feeler prior to launching on a nuclear programme. But unfortunately, in a way the dye has already been cast. It is a frightening, horrid feeling to realise that out of the world's six nuclear powers, three are right around us and in this very region ! India was already an Asian and regional power. Now it has acquired nuclear status. It can almost be said that we are living in a nuclear region. The talk of a nuclear-free zone

in such a region may sound as helpless, naive and pious as hoping for virgin soil in a mine-field. Perhaps the example is exaggerated. But it drives home the essential point of focussing attention on the almost dismal situation we are in.

(vi) Open Options

In the light of the foregoing, all the possiblities have to be studied and options kept open. Efforts to ensure our survival, in all directions, including those towards a nuclear umbrella and for a nuclear-free peace zone, have to be continued unbated. But there may also be some validity and justification in the point and suggestion, that just as nuclear proliferation in the world has created a multi-polar balance of power, a similar spread in this region may result in a multi-dimensional diversion and check-mating. This is supported by the fact that two of the nuclear powers of this region are global powers, i.e. Russia and China. India, an Asian or regional power, has stepped in, thus upsetting balance. Other regional powers, e.g. Iran, Japan or Indonesia, Egypt or Saudi Arabia may be constrained to join the club to restore the balance and counter-poise India. But we cannot afford to rely entirely on such possibilities and foreseeable developments. We must arm and strengthen ourselves, also, politically, diplomatically, strategically and militarily. For there can be no definite limit to proliferation. Israel, too, has its own nuclear potentialities and stockpiles. All this may ultimately make the region a nuclear hot house and testing ground. Or even Afro-Asia's or humanity's future global grave-yard ?

Great Leaders

To implement all this, a great ideology is needed. Great ideologies need great leaders to worth for a progressive, egalitarian and just society. Those who rule the nation's hearts and mind by their living personal example and not by the sword or gun. It is a simple truism which should occur to anybody—that people don't mind being governed for a life-time

by anybody provided he ensures freedom, democracy and the free flow of the basic necessities of life. But they won't stand the combination of suppression and starvation for long. If it were possible to rule by proxy or legislation alone, any robot or computer would do.

Foreign Policy : Independence, Non-Alignment, Committment

Independence and non-involvement in the affairs of the big powers is one thing, absolute non-alignment, another. We should not get embroiled in their politics, game of nerves and battle of wits. We are too small for that and too enmeshed in our own struggle for survival. But precisely for this later reason and out of enlightened self-interest, necessity might drive us to the protective arms of sincere friends.—bilaterally and regionally. And that is what an umbrella really means : commitment, alignment—in self-defence, and for survival—not to dare or defy others. Still, non-alignment in the absolute sense is a myth which a small, poor, unprotected and defencelses nation can ill-afford. Bilateral and regional alignments to protect and promote national interests are not antithetical to an independent foreign policy which in essence, means independence from alien controls or hegemony and the ability and freedom to choose wisely between options and alternatives—nationalistically.

Balance of Power

Even so, we must continue to strain every nerve and fibre of our being to : (i) normalise relations with all our neighbours and even adversaries, (ii) enlist the good-will of all the big powers. That is what the term balance of power should mean to us. The balance of power in this region should be so maintained as not to disturb the equilibrium of peace. That, again, has to be a cooperative regional venture—which has the blessings of the global or major powers. For them, it is not only a question

of the peace and survival of this entire region, it is also one of the maintenance of their own detente. Regional powers like Japan and China can have a sobering influence. China's 'detente' with Russia, India and Bangladesh, no matter how remote or 'wishful', will likewise, be a blessing in disguise. Such (presently 'fanciful'?) probablities or possibilies only go to prove another truism : that in politics, diplomacy and international relations, there are no eternal friends or enemies but possibly, only lasting interests and permanent pursuits. All the more reason to consolidate positions and reappraise or reaffirm postures. Opportunities cannot be allowed to be lost.

Peace

Peace in this region is most essential for its very survival. Let this area not be turned into a testing ground for nuclear devices. That means, to begin with, that each country and nation must guard its own peace at all costs and not be drawn into action. Pakistan has to be more cautious than any one else, perhaps, against all such provocations. From trigger-happy, militaristic politicking it must sober down to mature diplomacy of peace and detente.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Pakistan is at the cross-roads now more than ever before. Its crown of thorns, its sack-cloth and ashes, its cross of life, its cup of hemlock, its sword of Democles are all quite a reality and tend to give it a martyred look. But life on earth is not martyrdom. It is a crusade. In our case it is a 'crusade for peaceful and progressive survival and co-existence. Our options are strait—jacketed and limited. But they are bound to be fruitful, if exploited wisely and well. We must begin from the beginning and start at home. For peace at home means unity and strength to meet any aggression confidently.

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26.	India Builds Rocket. (A News report).	Sunday Telegraph, London.	July 22, 1974.

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37.	Indian N. Test: Threat To Peace.	The Dawn, Karachi.	May 30, 1974.
38.	Bombs For The Starving. Editorial.	Morning News, Karachi.	May 20, 1974.
39.	Canada Condemns—Editorial.	Morning News, Karachi.	May 24, 1974.
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47.	A Nuclear Pill for Poor India.	The Pakistan Times, Lahore/ Rawalpindi.	May 25, 1974.
48.	Nuclear Blast—Set-Back on Normalization.	The Pakistan Times, Lahore/ Rawalpindi.	May 29, 1974.
49.	The Fall-out From India's A-Bomb.	The Pakistan Times, Lahore/ Rawalpindi.	June 2, 1974.
50.	Blow to Detente—Editorial.	The Pakistan Times, Lahore/ Rawalpindi.	June 4, 1974.

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The Strategic Flaw In The Indo-Pak Wars: A Retrospective Overview

S. No.	Title	Source	Date
46.	Indira's [illegible]	The Pakistan Times, Lahore/ Rawalpindi.	May 24, 1974.
47.	A [illegible]	The Pakistan Times, Lahore/ Rawalpindi.	May 25, 1974.
48.	Nuclear Blast—Set-Back on Normalization.	The Pakistan Times, Lahore/ Rawalpindi.	May 29, 1974.
49.	The Fall-out From India's A-Bomb.	The Pakistan Times, Lahore/ Rawalpindi.	June 2, 1974.
50.	Blow to Detente—[illegible]	The Pakistan Times, Lahore/ Rawalpindi.	June 4, 1974.

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The Strategic Flaw In The Indo-Pak Wars : A Retrospective Overview

Introduction

I was quite tempted to caption this paper as : "The Strategic Flaw in Pakistan's India Wars" or "Wars with India". But then, I might have been misunderstood as implying or admitting that Pakistan was the aggressor. My intention, however, would only have been and is—to try to understand the 'flaw' or 'flaws' on the Pakistani side and from Pakistan's view point or in its larger interest.

The Present Context

I would now do well to begin with the prevalent day facts and contemporary realities. India's nuclear status and the menace that it poses is not just to Pakistan and to the sub-continent, or the schema of the supper, big and regional powers but much more, to Afro-Asian and world peace. It would be reasonable to emphasise here that the present is certainly not a sudden handiwork of magic. It has its roots in the past; in recent history, as the following passages will show. Pakistan's

present dilemma of survival can be traced back directly to this tragic flaw—to its strategic flaw—of the failure to realise the full implications of the Indian strategy—of India's gradual and steady nuclear growth.

"INDIA AND THE BOMB"

"The foundation of India's nuclear programme was laid in 1944 with the establishment of the "Tata Institute of Fundamental Research" under the guidance of the late Homi Bhabba. **Prime Minister Nehru outlined India's nuclear aspirations in the** 1940s. Nehru stated, according to Kavic, "his hope that India would develop atomic power for peaceful uses **but warned** that so long as the world was constituted as it was, every country would have to develop and use the latest scientific devices for its protection."......

"India's test signals a reorientation in India's diplomatic and nuclear strategy, but not necessarily a shift in nuclear policy. Since the 1950s, India's policy was to reject super power management of the international security environment . It appears that Nehru's strategy was to seek nuclear disarmament of the super powers and the strategy up to the test ban reflected this approach. **Yet even in the 1950s, the policy revealed a dual orientation.** Nehru's rejection of an Indian weapon's programme was coupled with a request for development of peaceful explosives technology, and this request underlined the growth of India' small, but sophisticated nuclear programme. Thus, while committed to avoiding a weapons programme, India proceeded to **stay abreast of modern technology** and to make use of the **political uses of atomic energy**.'......

"From the mid-1950s on, **India's nuclear policy and strategy proceeded on a dual track :** rejection of nuclear weapons for India and the world and promotion of nuclear weapons explosives technology (in addition to the use of nuclear energy in agriculture and medicine and to produce electric power) ....."

"The impression in the West is that **India's nuclear policy is essentially a response to the security threat from China.** This impression is erroneous because Indian statements on arms control and nuclear policy make **two points** clear. First, Ambassador Trivedi repeatedly signalled in the NPT debate that the China threat was a secondary issue in the NPT—for India, China was a potential nuclear threat, not a threat per se. **Second,** since the mid-1950s, India has been concerned with the problem of super power imperialism in international security policy ..... It was only after Moscow actively sought detente (-1963 onwards) that Indian negotiators appeared to develop a heightened sensitivity to the potential danger of the super powers working in concert on security policy matters.'......

......"If the **197I war** is viewed as a step towards **sub-continental self-help** which involved the use of **conventional arms, the 1974 underground test can be viewed as another political act** which singals **India's determination** to **violate** the **letter** and **spirit** of the **NPT.'......**

"There's something to India's statement that its action is peaceful. Just because one can never be certain about the future, perhaps it is appropriate to say that it is **'peaceful at present.'......**

"However, the task of predicting **India's future nuclear behaviour is clouded with uncertainties. Much depends on** India's perceptions of China and, the super powers ....'

"At present, **India** is unlikely **to consider sharing explosive** technology with, say, Iran or Argentina. But to encourage such restraint, it will be necessary for **the Western world to avoid** discriminatory action which is based on flawed policy premises. In other words, we may be witnessing the development of a nuclear option which **'may' lead to a** weapons programme ; but then it may not. **It will depend on the** actions of the super powers and industrialised nations, and to an extent on China." (—Ashok Kapur in : Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Chicago, USA, September, 1974).

INDIA'S "NUCLEAR BEHAVIOUR"

First of all, I will seek the reader's indulgence in quoting the above-mentioned author so copiously. But the passages are so tell-tale and so loaded with meaning, that it would have been difficult to do full justice to the subject, without them. I am inclined to admire Prof. Kapur's intelligence aud single-minded national dedication. He is an educated Hindu and Indian through and through; and represents their typical mentality. Verbal quibbling is both their forte and weakness. The author has given himself away splendidly on many occasions. The underlined words signify this. (The underlining is mine). We can now make the following detailed comments :

(i) **Historical Developments** : By their own proud proclamations, the Indian nuclear programme dates back to 1944.

(ii) **Phasing Out** : It represents a sinister and programmed arms, defence and nuclear policy on the part of top-notch scientists, politicians, thinkers, planners, strategists and leaders, with their devout intellectuals and intelligentsia like political scientists, economists, and journalists to defend and support it. The pressure groups and power elites, toc, like the armed forces. That is why today India has countless Bhabhas, Subramanyams, Pannikars and Menons at its service.

(iii) **War In Peace** : The Indian nuclear programme was cleverly phased out and smoke-screened under the cover of slogans like atoms for peace, and the peaceful use of atomic power. Dr. Kapur has tried to make the popular and prevalent, but fallacious and hair-splitting distinction between : (i) a peaceful nuclear technology, and (ii) a nuclear weapons programme and delivery system. It has been known all along—and now proven to the hilt that the same technology is involved in both cases. So the differentiation does not help the Indian case or make it any the less destructive and more peaceful. The eye-wash won't do ! India was and is well aware of this

technological fact. Actually the first development is only the initial step and excuse towards the second. So, India's strategy was only a phasing out of its nuclear, and ultimately nuclear weapons system programme. If it talked of peace at that time—or is still doing so—it is as a tractic that suits its poverty and hidden intention. The game was to hoodwink the world around—not the aiders of the programme—for as a party to it, they were well-aware of the defenceless enemy targets or peripheral doves. A power which is scientifically advanced and technologically developed enough to launch on a nuclear programme—and another which aids it—is also clever enough to be fully aware both of the objectives and the implications involved. In brief, the short-sighted game of the encirclement of China has begun to boomerang. For a lot is at stake! NPT, SALT and detente, not to talk of the peace of Afro-Asia and the Third World.

(iv) **Political Uses : Nuclear Blackmail :** Dr. Kapur has talked of the **'political uses'** of atomic energy. One had heard of its peaceful, economic, developmental and clinical uses. But this is the latest! Our Indian friends are adept at coining revealing expressions! It's a part of their verbiage. Isn't 'political' uses the same thing as nuclear blackmail and arm-twisting?

(v) **'India's Nuclear Behaviour'** : is another very significant expression. If I am permitted to say so, Prof. Kapur's zealous defence and apparently naive pleading of the Indian case, crossing the barriers of the incongruous, goes to the extent of the grotesque and even the ludicurous. One could discuss the Indian nuclear programme. But an Indian 'nuclear behaviour' is either Pavlovian or psychotic. By trying to put the ultimate blame on the 'western world, the super powers and China' for India's projected and predictable nuclear weapons programme, the author has tried to make it look like a conditioned reflex. Actually, it is more in the nature of a chauvinistic, euphoric, militant and jingoiitic obsession. A means to and a justification of Indian nuclear or new-

colonialism and expansionism. Present-day Indian imperialism is the latest brand to its historical imperialism—'secular-nuclear-peaceful'!'

(vi) **"Dual Track"**: The 'dual track' on which 'the Indian nuclear policy and strategy proceeded', according to Prof. Kapur, actually indicates that India had very wisely **kept its options open throughout**. 'Heads you lose, tails I win'! In short, the deployment of an outwardly 'peaceful' STRATEGY did not preclude the launching of a nuclear weapons programme. It was really a gradual development from one stage to another. The foundational technology being the same, the industrial, military and scientific bases and infra-structure having been provided and the take-off stage having been reached, there should be no insuperable problem to forge ahead to the next destructive phase.

(vii) **Open Options** : India is continuing to keep its options open : for its nuclear programme is 'peaceful **at present**'. But 'we may be witnessing the development of a nuclear option which **may** lead to a weapon programme.'

"India proceeded to stay abreast of modern technology". Certainly not without intention and reason—though little justification.

(viii) **The Blame** : The author has very knavely passed on the buck well in advance to others. India's nuclear weapons programme, he says, 'will depend on the super powers and the industrialized nations, and to an extent on China.' While the **future blame** will be on them—**not**—as the author tries to argue failingly—for discriminating against India—**but** squarely for helping it further—the **past** blame is largely on the west for aiding India to go nuclear.

(ix) N.P.T. etc :—And what of the arms race, peace and nuclear-free zones, nuclear non-proliferation, strategic arms limitation talks and detente, etc.? To be effective, these concepts will have to be defused from the super power hegemony—and humanised—

internationalised. But India couldn't care two hoots about them. For, according to Ashok Kapur, "the 1974 underground test can be viewed as another **'political act'** (—of intimidation or blackmail?) 'which signals **India's determination to violate the letter and spirit of the NPT**." These words are so self-evident that they need no comments.

(x) **'Sub-Continental Self-Help'** : If, according to Ashok Kapur, the 1971 war was really a 'step towards sub-continental self-help which involved the use of conventional arms', then we can look forward to such nuclear 'self-help' also. In one sentence, insurrection, secession, civil war, armed aggression and nuclear threat stand rationalised, legalised and validated. What conventional arms achieved in the past in Sikkim, Bhutan and Goa, Junagarh, Hyderabad, Kashmir, East Pakistan and elsewhere, the **'polititical** use' of atomic **power** will attain in this region and beyond in future.

(xi) **India and China** : 'For India, China was a potential nuclear threat, not a threat per se .....' 'The China threat was a secondary issue'. This does not signify a thaw towards China. But only the Indian feeling that now it is a fit match for China. The 1962 days have gone for good!! The Indian (bluff?) confidence knows no bounds. One must concede there's some justification for it.

(xii) **Super Power Vs Indian Hegemony** : According to Prof. Kapur, the first main reason why India went nuclear was to tackle the 'problem of super power imperialism in international security policy ; Or was it really to share—if not to wrest, so far as this region went—the said imperialism ?

(xiii) **Indian Super-Power Dreams** : The above is a measure of India's lust for super power status. Regional power or big power status is not enough. This psychosis is understandable in the light of historical analysis. For it is a magalomaniac extension of the ancient Akhund Bharat dream ; which will span

the India domination from the Middle East to the Far East ; from S.W. Asia to S.E. Asia—and beyond.

(xiv) **Sharing of Technology :** Dr. Ashok Kapur is of the tentative view that, '**at present**, India is unlikely to consider sharing nuclear explosive technology with, say, Iran or Argentina'. But he does not deny the possibility in future. His 'at present' is significant. The restraint may either be technological or politically monopo'..stic—imperialistic and not moral, at all—or India wouldn't have gone nuclear, in the first place—and having done so—would subscribe to and not repudiate the NNPT. Technological, because it may not have reached the 'sharing stage'. Tactical—for national interests and neo-colonial designs. And political, in order to blackmail hegemonically, some and economically exploit others. Significantly, Iran has been mentioned but not Israel. The former—to implicate or cast aspersions on Iran—or to imply a collusive sharing of regional spheres of influence ? Iran's role may depend, among other factors, on the further collective use of the energy weapons of the Middle East and the OPEC, the trend of the energy crisis and global inflation and the fate of the presently thwarted or dampened U.S.-Soviet detente. It is hoped that Iran will not try, (like we have been doing in the past), to escape its geo-political compulsions and the facts and the reality of geo-graphy. In brief, the big powers, Russia and China, can never be ignored.

PAKISTAN'S OPTIONS

This is the prevalent menacing situation and view of India's 'forward policy' o. nuclear expansionism and containment or domination of others in the region, in which Pakistan has to decide upon its future options—no doubt very limited. The ferocity of Indian ambitions and ruthlessness is well known. It is quite capable of anything. (Unconfirmed ?) reports reveal that in its 1971 war with Pakistan, India used slyly and on a limited and experimental scale at the Eastern front, germ, gas and chemical warfare weapons which rendered the Pakistani

combatants paralysed, petrified and bereft of memory and sensation, without any apparent reason—bodily wound or injuries. Will it be wise for Pakistan to give a nuclear walk-over to India and not to indulge in a nuclear arms race with it even for sheer survival and self-defence ?—while **fully** integrating, developing and defending its society, ideology, way of life, sovereignty, and state in **every other way**. Especially through ideological renaissance, economic progress, socio-political stability and democratisation, and a strong, scientific and modern defence—deterrence policy, strategy, and system. The answer to that will depend not just on Pakistan but also on the balance of power in this region. Balance of power not so much as managed by the Western powers as by the big and regional powers of this area and by the concerned states and nations themselves. For sheer survival again, they will have to evolve a durable detente, a *modus vivendi* and the morality and strategy of activo and peaceful co-existence. For this, (i) while Pakistan must learn to stand on its own feet, (ii) the powers that be (—regional, big, global and super) will have to extend a protecting umbrella to small, medium and peaceful, non-nuclear states like Pakistan, bilaterally, mutually and collectiv-ely,—e.g. through specific pacts, treaties and alliance (—which are now rather unpopular and suspect) or by means of wide-spectrum peace providers like the NNPT, SALT and Nuclear Free or Peace Zones. For if such states are decimated or they disappear, there will be no buffer and peace zones, and the nuclear powers of varying potentials will be at each other's borders and door steps. In the ultimate analysis, they are more a menace to each other than they are to non-nuclear states.

PAKISTAN'S PAST FLAWS

The question of Pakistan's present and future options and choices or strategy for survival cannot be answered fully without analysing its past flaws and foibles-political, ideological and strategic, in peace and war. They are :

(1) **Ideological :** Pakistan's greatest mistake has been that in peace time it often forget that it was an ideological state. There was no dearth of slogans and 'taranas' in war and peace. But the national ideology was never translated into a way of life, into action, into a practicable. system The result was that we drifted along from moment to moment, without any sense of direction, motivation, idealism or destiny. And whenever we did think of our ideology, it turned into a complusing and splintering debate.

(2) **Social, Political, Economic :** Socially, politically and economically, because of abandoning our ideology, we became opportunists, mercenaries and grabbers in our own home. Our political and economic thinking and programmes were based on expediency. We did not see beyond our noses and plan holistically, in totality and into the future. While India silently built up an army of world-level nuclear scientists to man its multiplying atomic centres, we were content with gilded show-pieces and scientific advisers working abroad. As India erected a atrong economic and heavy industrial base for its military hardware and nuclear technology, we debated mini-steel mills, produced limited small arms and manufactured cosmetics and textiles. While Indian democracy controlled and modernised its armed forces, our generals turned into weakling dictators and debased the brave soldiers into palace guards and personal armies. As the Indians literally starved to go nuclear, we squandered our agricultural wealth and national heritage on smuggling, black-marketing, profiteering and a host of social evils typical of decadents and the nouveau riche. Democracy was sent out for a joy ride !

(3) **The Strategic Flaw :** But in the present context, the most tragic flaw responsible for our undoing was the strategic flaw, which expressed itself in many ways, e.g. :

Planning : In India, the higher direction of war, of defence policy, planning, management and reorganisation, was the job of top leaders, the strategists, politicians, political thinkers and

ideologists. Here the scared and apologetic politicians considered defence to be taboo ; and ducked under the generals-turned-politicians, whose total concept of defence did not go beyond the Second World War, the War or Ops Room mock operations, the national or regional exercises, the outdated text book or precis prescriptions or occasional border skirmishes or actions—generally speaking.

The Nature of Wars : Of course, there were a few wars with India. But they were often a repetition of IMA/PMA/ DOON SCHOOL / Sandhurst / Second World War Plans, manuals, exercises and faded experiences. Certainly, there was no dearth of : (i) brilliance and brains ; (ii) brawn and muscle ; (iii) heart, fortitude, courage and bravery ; and (iv) nationalism and patriotism. But this spiritual wealth and dedicated manpower was seldom put to proper and scientific use. According to popular opinion, top leadership was generally deficient and defective. While India kept us cleverly engaged and cut to size in conventional wars with convential arms and weapons, concepts, strategy, policy and tactics, often at moments and places of its own choice, we ourselves remained squabbing among ourselves on petty, personal and political spoils and possessions. India was busy strengthening its democracy, economy, armed forces, industry and nuclear technology, Nationalism and self-reliance were the key concepts of its strategy for survival and growth. Expediency and foreign aid were ours.

Common Reasons for Our Failure : The following are the generally believed and commonly accepted reasons for our indecisive battles, last war (1971), debacle, defeat, dismemberment and disintegration :

i) The general absence of democracy and popular political authority.

ii) Military misrule.

iii) Economic exploitation.

iv) Ideological confusion.

v) **National disintegration.**

The legitimate regional rights of a pluralistic and complex society were neglected. The emphasis was on welding a strong state through an iron government rather than integrating a single nation with a sound ideology and a just society.

vi) The geo-political compulsions of a split-state, with over a thousand miles of enemy/hostile/alien territory in between. There were no land routs available to connect the two wings. Airways could be cut off and waterways blockaded.

(vii) A faltering, bellicose and wrongly-aligned foreign policy.

(viii) Insurrection and secession.

(ix) Armed intervention and aggression.

(x) A hostile foreign press and publicity.

(xi) Poor psy-war planning and execution, faulty use of the mass media and weak ideological motivation.

(xii) Solving political problems militarily.

(xiii) Civil war in East Pakistan.

(xiv) Opening the second front in West Pakistan.

(xv) Excessive dependence on others, in peace and war-especially for foreign debts, military aid, (regional) pacts and alignments and economic planning.

(xvi) Conventional and lop-sided development of the armed forces. A neglected navy and maritime force. Dependence on too few ports ; and not building new ones.

Faulty intelligence; and insufficient guerrilla, heli-borne, paratroops, para-military and 'peoples' support.

(xvii) Fallacious and conventional concepts of dominant land strategists, e.g., that 'the defence of East Pakistan lies in West Pakistan.'

(xviii) General non-participation of the nation and people in defence.

(xix) Absence of a defence-oriented economy and industry.

(xx) Faulty national policy and planning in peace and war-ideological, economic, defence, strategic and of foreign relations. Neither the enemy's : (i) objectives, (ii) strength, and (iii) weaknesses were properly assessed and tackled; nor one's own were scientifically determined, evaluated and harnessed. Indifference to the elements of national power, and of sea, air and land power.

THE CRUX OF THE MATTER

While most of the others point mentioned above are quite obvious, in some cases, and much can be said, in others, the last is, perhaps, the most salient. It sums up the crux of the matter. Defence planning is a long-term total concept which is an integral part of overall futuristic but scientific, national policy, ideology and planning. The latter, in ideological states, especially, is subservient to the national ideology, objectives and interests.

Our wars, though they might have been well-planned and executed, generally, as military exercises and army operations, hardly served the long-term national ideology, objectives and interests. That is because these were not determined, in the first place ; and also because :

(i) Either the war objectives were confused or limited, militarily, e.g., the temporary occupation of an enemy post, territory or manpower, show of strength ; deterrence limited and safe aggression, etc.

(ii) Or the wars were politically motivated, e.g., diversionary—to distract attention from domestic issues and embarrassing problems ; to artificially effect national integration in the face of a common danger from a common foe ; to reagitate a disputed but senile or dormant issue like Kashmir ; or to attract international attention for foreign aid or to expose a foe—etc. Sometimes we overplayed our hand, e.g., in 1971.

But the gullible nation and naive soldier were always made to believe that it was a holy war, a Jehad, whereby Kashmir would be liberated and Delhi annexed. However, within days or weeks, arms ran out on either side, tempers cooled, big powers intervened, a cease-fire was effected and the disputed issue (if any), cold-stored, stalemated and deep-freezed, once again, at least temporarily. The lists of the maimed and crippled, martyred and felled, imprisoned and missing, widowed and orphaned, swelled. Lives, homes, families and generations were ruined. Hospitals got crowded. Roads renamed after the dead. These, in a nut-shell, have been the total gains of wars.

THE TRAGIC FLAW

Instead of submitting to a decadent military dictatorship or army 'politocracy', depending on foreign economic aid and military assistance and massing a conventional army—in view of India's well-known annexations, expansionism and nuclear development, Pakistan could have taken the following steps :

(i) Translated its chosen (Islamic) Ideology into the national way of life and action.

(ii) Ensured true and genuine democracy, at all costs.

(iii) Avoided getting crippled with excessive foreign aid ; and practised self-reliance, austerity and self-sufficiency.

(iv) Guaranteed a balanced, all-round, futuristic development—ideological, agricultural, industrial, economic, manpower (population), social, and defence.

(v) The economy, the industry and above all, the people should have been made defence-oriented. An effective nuclear or missile deterrence system could have been evolved.

(vi) The armed forces should have been less traditional and more nationalistic and modern—in the Chinese rather than the Western sense. They ought to have been subservient to the constitutional, civil and political authority, and motivated nationalistically and ideologically, alongwith the rest of the nation.

(vii) Pakistan's geo-political and geo-strategic compulsions, facts, reality and situation should never have been forgotten. We had, perhaps unnecessarily, annoyed Russia, for instance, too long.

(viii) Our dreams of Pan-Islamism might have been 'concretised' more manifestly.

Wars :

(ix) In the first instance, we should NOT have got embroiled in **wasteful wars** which produced little results save a tarnished image of Pakistan.

(x) Our **war objectives** and **policy** were questionable. In Kashmir, for instance, according to the army leadership of that time involved in action, the ceasefire in 1948 was the most fatal blow to the issue. Later, we could have planned and executed scientifically a real and self-sustaining, continuous and endless people's liberation movement and struggle in the occupied valley instead of getting trapped in an international war. The God-sent, once-in-centuries opportunity provided by the 1962 Indo-China war should not have been missed. In East Pakistan, there should have been no civil war at all. And in 1971

there was no need, whatsoever, of a second front in West Pakistan. This, at least, is the hind-sight consensus of the wise-heads today !

(xi) Our foreign policy—of general goodwill and peace—could have been more independent and non-aligned, and keyed to the geo-political and national reality, ideology, objectives, interests and defence requirements.

(xii) Defence and strategic planning, in the larger context of long-range national policy and planning, deserved very high priority. That includes armed forces' reorganisation, training and reorientation, and their systems and weapons analysis and reform.

(xiv) Psy-war, mass communication and ideological motivation, too, merited great preference. They also, could have been tuned to suit (xii) above. Two main objectives would have been : (a) Mass and forces' education, motivation and morale building ; and (b) persistent propagation of our peaceful ideology abroad, exposure of the enemy designs and its nuclear programme, tne world over, in order to win the foreign press, governments, pressure groups, power elites and the public. This ought to have preceded any military action on any front.

(xv) **Objectives of War** : Above all, the concept, nature and objectives of war should have been clear-cut, and well-defined. In a particular sense, objective-wise, it could—in view of the known Indian nuclear expansionist threat to our very survival—have been a **pre-emptive** 'total war'—with the deployment of a specialised and sure-shot, expert task force, a scientific, well-trained and dedicated crack power, and lightning, surprise-strike, suicide squads. The objective need not have been either conventionally limited, or diversionary or political. It may have been military and ideolo-

gical—to destroy totally the enemy military offensive potential and hardware, and defence industrial base-above all, its nuclear centres and cells. But **certainly not** civilian population. In fact, with national and international help, peacefully (or otherwise) its nuclear programme might have been subverted and destroyed. If India could disintegrate Pakistan and subvert its ideology, Pakistan could, for its own survival and the peace of the region and even the world, at least try to subvert its military—industrial base and sabotage its nuclear programme. The national integration problem being more diversified, acute and challenging in India, could also have been exploited at all levels and fronts.

Of course, these are extremely serious issues, with unlimited national and international implications. Leave alone decision, even thought on them could be paralysing. Perhaps that's why nothing was done in that direction.

WISHES AND HORSES

The adage is, 'if wishes were horses, then beggars would ride'! Beggars we were and are, perhaps still, in the opinion of some. Wishing is an old national habit. Even this paper is an exercise and apologia in wishful thinking. Horse breeders and horse riding knight errants are gone for good. The chances that we had, alas, we have missed! The militant nuclear walk-over has been granted by history. That of course, does not affect our nuclear programme for economic development. But we can still bask in the sun-shine of hindsight and experience, and try to gain and grow by such wisdom. We still have the chance to survive and prosper as a peaceful little South-West Asian nation—resilient, viable and even strong and progressive. But that wlll need :

INTERNATIONALLY

(i) The realistic and healthy acceptance of our geo-political compulsions and location; (ii) a policy orientation towards the big powers and regional powers around us; (iii) a policy shift or emphasis on South-West Asia, with Pakistan therein, especially after the coming of Bangladesh—and not just in South Asia, alone; and towards the Middle East, the Third World and the Muslim brotherhood; (iv) a more stable, fair and peaceful balance of power in the region, with Russia and China playing a leading role—through detente, NNPTS, SALTS, peace and nuclear free zones, protective defence umbrellas, etc. Add :-

NATIONALLY

Through: (i) modern, viable and strong, people-oriented defences on the Chinese pattern, and a mighty deterrence system; (ii) a stable and democratic polity and society; (iii) a sound, strong, agricultural, well-rounded and self-reliant economy; and (iv) ideological regeneration and progress.

All this—a tall order—yes! But the sanest way to survival!

If only we can learn to accept the teachings of history, benefit by our mistakes and decide to reconstruct our society and polity on our sound but neglected ideological foundations. It will be a singular national service in this direction if the first step is taken by motivating and channelising the Quaid-i-Azam and Iqbal Centenaries to the projection and implementation of their political philosophy, the rediscovery and renaissance of Pakistan's basic, foundational Islamic ideology and national integration and consolidation.

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The Balance of Power in South and South-West Asia

The Balance of Power in South And South-West Asia

The Indian "Grand Design"

"India, the Holy Land ('Punya Bhoomi') extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, was a vision of the Mauryan age undoubtedly. The Chakravarti Patha or the territory of the empire is thus described in Kautala's Arthshaastra. The author of the Vishnu Purana speaks of Gods being jealous of the sons of the land of Bharata.'

"Without a vision of one's country as something worthy of being defended at all costs, national morale will never stand any great strain. At all times of India's past greatness, this vision of India existed." (—K.M. Panniker).

Three main points emerge from the above quotation : (i) "India's 'grand design' for the reconquest of the sub-continent and beyond upto Afghanistan and Central Asia is part of an ancient dream dating back to the Mauryan Empire in 300 B.C"[1]. The taste of the pudding is in its eating. The proof of India's new colonialism, Gandhian imperialism and nuclear expansionism is write large in the pages of recent history. Right from the

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[1] *Brg. (Rtd.) A.R. Siddiqui : "A Fresh Look At Our Security" : Defence Journal, Karachi, Vol I, No. Feb., 1975.*

annexation of Junagadh in 1947, Hyderabad in 1948, Goa in 1961 to Sikkim and Kashmir in 1974-75—to mention only a few—the Indian expansionist thrust in a predictable direction, is unmistakable. Its fanning out towards the Afro-Asian Ocean and the Persian/Arabian/Oil Gulf is clear-cut. Until recently, the crowning glory of India's foreign policy objectives was the dismemberment of the Quaid's Pakistan in 1971. Then came the sensational Nuclear Explosion in 1974. The last nail in Kashmir's coffin has been driven in February, 1975.

Yet with all these colonial conquests, India claims to be peaceful and non-aligned. And the world, especially the Super Powers, seem to believe and even honuor it !

(ii) "Without a vision of one's country as something worthy of being defended at all costs, national morale will never stand any great strain". This is basically sound advice for any nation to follow, including Pakistan. But from legitimate self-defence, the Indian psy-war strategy and ideological motivational campaign has assumed a jingoistic and militant role. The glorious past that Panniker and others invoke in order to 'defend' and preserve the present, betrays a deadly conquestorial ambition for the future. If Pakistan were to be likewise motivated, then its natural objective would be to usher in the Mughal and Muslim eras. Yet Pakistan has realistically accepted its present 'cut to size' position.

(iii) Afghanistan—the Indian ally—and even the Trucial States and Iran, are not beyond the pale of Indian expansionist ambitions.

Balance Power

One reason for the indulgent attitude of the Super Powers towards India might be to maintain the balance of power in this region vis-a-vis China. The reason might be arguable. But the

results are quite the opposite. In fact, they defeat the very 'reason' itself. The said 'indulgence' has given rise to Indian euphoria, false and inflated self-confidence and its Super Power dreams. The West is doing its best to boost the myth of Indian democracy by its continuing hot-and-cold honey-moon with India. But the Indian nuclear strength is empty-bellied and menaced, if not negated, by poverty and squalour, hunger and population explosion. Thus, both the Indian democracy and strength are raised on sandy foundations. A single flood or famine as in Bangla Desh and just one people's separatist or independence movement, possibly in Kashmir, would give a greater jolt to the Bharati euphoria than its China war of over a decade ago, i.e. in 1962.

The net result of Bharat's militant and Hindu nationalism is that instead of maintaining an even and viable balance of power in the region, it is constantly making it more precarious. Right from the land-locked Himalayan mini-states to the littoral and South-East Asian nations, all are dreading India's grand designs. This, coupled with the racy strategy of petro-dollars which is arming the OPEC group with the latest deadly weaponry, may well lead to nuclear proliferation from Israel to Japan—again, 'to maintain or restore the regional balance of power'. Thus, the balance of power that is sought to be maintained via India is false and fraught with danger.

The Indian menace in Soute West Asia is repeated by the Israeli threat in the Middle East and South-West Asia.

A Loose Confederation

This Super Power tacit understanding is attempted to be reinforced by apparently naive and well-meaning suggestions for Pakistan to:

(1) Normalise its relations with India (—which is Pakistan's own chosen policy) ; and (ii) to float a 'loose kind of confederation between Iran, Pakistan and India'. (—Lawrence Ziring and others).

The best reply to the idea of a 'loose confederation' can be given in the Quaid-e-Azam's own words.

The Quaid's Verdict

"We are asked by some constitutional Pundits: "Why can there not be some sort of loose federation or confederation?"...... Federation, however described and in whatever terms it is put, must ultimately deprive the federating units of authority in all vital matters....We are opposed to any scheme—nor can we agree to any proposal—which has for its basis any conception or idea of a central government—federal or confederal; for it is bound to lead in the long run to the **emasculation of the entire Muslim nation**——socially, educationally, culturally, economically and politically—and to the **establishment of the Hindu majority raj in the sub-contnent'.**

"Therefore, romove from your mind any idea of any form of such a loose federation. **There is no such thing as loose federation**"[1].

In brief, a state's very sovereignty and survival are at stake even in a 'loose kind of confederation'.

The Intention

According to some Western scholars, 'Afghanistan is lost to the Russians'. Therefore a confederation between Iran, India and Pakistan would be a buffer and bulwark against Communism. They seem to forget that Pakistan is more interested in a guarantee againt Hinduism and Indian absorption. The Quaid's prediction and warning are coming true in the case of the Indian Muslims today and in the light of the Bharati policy to assimilate them, to the extent of negating their distinct identity.

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[1]*The Quaid-e-Azam: Presidential Address, All-India Muslim League, Thirtieth Session, Delhi, April, 24th-26th, 1943.*

Bases of Confederation

There can be no partnership between unequals for there will be no justice and fair-play. If this is not an age of alignments, it is much less one of theoretical, dead and textbook political concepts like 'confederation'. In fact, the former are a modern manifestation of the latter. Perhaps in no other country except India and Pakistan, have such terms been debated seriously.

Whether it is federation, an alliance, an alignment or any other form of agreement between two or more sovereign states, there has to be some basis for it. The generally agreed and accepted bases are:

(i) Common interests.

(ii) Similar ideologies.

(iii) Unifying historical/traditional factors, forces and compulsions like history, culture, religion and geo-politics.

(iv) Like policies, practices, institutions and approaches or outlooks.

An Alternative

At least in the case of Bharat and Pakistan, it can be said with ample justification that not many of the above common factors or unifying principles are available to vouch for a thing like a confederation. In fact there are positive and sharp differences on a number of issues. And still unresolved problems like the Kashmir question (—now worstened by India's annexation of the state), further vitiate the atmosphere.

A possible and more desirable alternative to the feeler of a 'loose kind of confederation' between India, Pakistan and Iran—not as a ring around China or to contain communism in South and South-West Asia—but to ensure a stable balance of

power and peace in the face of the Indian threat to it—is: (i) Pan-Islamism, Muslim Brotherhood or a Commonwealth of Muslim States as a geo-political and economic force—**coupled with:** (ii) a defensive, politico-economic alliance between the non-nuclear states from Egypt to Japan. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Japan can play a significant role in this. All these nations have many of the afore-mentioned common bases to guarantee the suggested alliance. For one thing, they are non-nuclear and suffer from the common threat of nuclear expansion. For another, they subscribe to nuclear non-proliferation, peace zones and general detente.

China's Due

There can be no effective balance of power in the region without China playing its due role in the process. And China is, perhaps, most suited to play a leading role in this respect. That is because: (i) it persistently refuses to become a Super Power ; (ii) inspite of its nuclear status, it subscribes to all genuine proposals for nuclear non-proliferation, detente and peace, and (iii) it still belongs to, feels and works for and is acceptable by the Third World. Another significant historical fact is that it is perhaps, the only big country in the world which is free from the zionist menace. So far as the Muslims go, China has never had any war with the Muslim lands. If the Chinese system is combined with the Islamic Ideology and the Chinese progressivism and nuclear strength with the non-nuclear manpower and economic potential, and the Buddhist compassion, humanism and peacefulness, it will be a great guarantee for a healtheir balance of power and peace in the region. But there can, perhaps, be no substitute for a Sino-Soviet Detente like the Sino-American Detente.

Small And Medium States

South, South-East and South-West Asia are essentially regions of small, medium and non-nuclear states. When a big

sub-continental-sized state like India goes nuclear in such an area, it is: (i) bound to upset the balance of power in the zone/region; (ii) scare to death or at least drive them to their wit's end, the smaller nations and non-nuclear countries; (iii) lead to pressure tactics like the energy crisis, inflation and oil-embargo; (iv) give a fillip to the arms race; and (v) encourage nuclear proliferation. All this for sheer survival and out of self-defence. The affected small states are bound to exploit; (a) their natural resources, manpower and assets; (b) strategic importance and (c) whatever else they can, to ensure their freedom. The above developments are accomp ained by a scramble for the Afro-Asian Ocean, spheres of influence and strategic bases, by the Super Powers and India.

Pakistan's Dismemberment

Pakistan was dismembered partly because: (i) it was a 'geographical monstrosity' and (ii) a trigger-happy menace to peace – according to its opponents and detractors. Ironically in the process, the balance of power **and peace**—was totally upset in the region.

India, on the other hand, has never been a single country or nation. That is a myth which it is high time to explode. Instead of cutting Pakistan to size – if Indian could not, likewise and with greater reason—be cut to size and sliced according to its natural, cultural, religious, regional, geo-political and historical compulsions, divisions and justifications—including its many nations and nationalities – and thereby brought on a natural par with the other small and medium states of the region – precisely to ensure a more desirable, definite and lasting balance of power—at least it should never have been : (i) armed so much to its red teeth and claws with the latest arsenals ; and (ii) allowed to go nuclear. The Super Powers along with Canada and the West are blame for this. Will history ever offer a corrective? Will the inherent contradictions in the Indo-Soviet relationship assert themselves ? Will India's problems, population, poverty, staggering, unmanageable and humpty-

dumpty size, natural and built-in failings and fissiparous tendencies help in the restoration of regional peace and balance of power ? A more militant and chauvinistic government like one by the orthodox religious Jan Sanghis and Mahasabites, is likely to hasten the process, by attempting to convert and crush the minorities. Will China leap forward to play a more effective role in this ? Only time can tell.

The Path For Pakistan

Pakistan, in the meantime, has no choice but to be eternally wary and vigilant. It has wisely opted for detente and peace in its relations with its neighbours as well as the regional, big and super powers. But it must also ensure its lasting security through : (i) a just society ; (ii) political and economic stability and democracy : (iii) strong defences and (iv) national integeration and peace at home. Above all, in the regional context, it has to strive continuously for: (i) detente and peace ; (ii) nuclear non-proliferation and peace zones, and (iii) a surer and enduring balance of power. For these, it will need to use each and every means possible and at its command. For the present, there seems to be no end to its brinkmanship and tight-rope-walking. But by now it should have matured into a seasoned and experienced crisis-detonator and precipice-balancer. Perhaps it has. One big indicator of this will be its ability to learn its lessons from history and to make a clean break from its past. That means, in short, that the faulty history of the nineteen-fifties and sixties, both in domestic affairs and foreign policy-or its execution, should not be allowed to repeat itself. Narrow alignments and commitments, pacts and pressures like the CENTO and SEATO and bases like Bada Bere, can not only be embarrassig, but positively troublesome.

American Arms Embargo

The lifting of the American arms embargo on Pakistan, though welcome, need be no cause of or justification

for any euphoria on our part. And euphoria is an almost inherent weakness in Pakistan. This development makes no substantial difference to the balance of power in the region, even though according to Sahibzada Yaqub Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador to the U.S.A., it might help replace and replenish, modernise and improve the quality of our arms and defences. The main reasons for this view are : (i) balance of power is a regional and inter-regional issue and not a local, national or Pakistani one, (ii) it does not restore Pakistan's original, pre-1971 size, power and strength and geo-political importance ; (iii) there can, obviously, be no balance between Pakistan's conventional weapons and defence system, no matter how modern, and India's nuclear power ; (iv) there is just no comparison between the Indian and Pakistani size and strength ; (v) the embargo has been lifted, both for India and Pakistan ; and (vi) it does not mean a resumption of American arms aid but only of cash sales.

In view of the foregoing, Pakistan's options are obviously limited and its path, one of straits and narrow. Even so, the options must be kept open and explored, at the same time.But with vision and foresight, an enlightened and dedicated leadership and as a well-integrated nation, it can certainly ensure its own survival and sovereignty, strength and progress. Pakistan's endeavours for a peace zone in a nuclearised region may appear to be like looking for virgin soil in a mine-field. But the brave and noble effort is certainly worth making. It has popular appeal and increasing support.

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Sino-Soviet Detente and South-West Asia

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Sino-Soviet Detente and South-West Asia

PROSPECTS OF SINO-SOVIET DETENTE

The Situation Today

"No Sino-Soviet Border Clashes :" "Peking, December 18 : A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman today rejected as "complete invention" reports from Soviet sources of new Sino-Soviet border clashes last month"[1]...

U.N. For Broad-Based Detente : "United Nations, December 18: The General Assembly yesterday adopted a resolution, urgently appealing to all states to broaden the scope of detente to cover the entire world. to take practical steps to reduce armaments and to reaffirm the principles contained in the declaration on friendly relations among states"[2]...

Both the above news items are splashed on the front page of the Pakistan Times of the day, and are given two-column headlines. The first is not only extremely significant for this region, it is also both saddening and hopeful, because :—

(i) It indicates, despite the total denial on one side, at least a temporary tension.

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[1]*The Pakistan Times, Rawalpindi, dated 19-12-74*
[2]*The Pakistan Times, Rawalpindi, dated 19-12-74*

(ii) Such (feeler-type) tensions may or may not be a part of the evolutionary process of detente.

(iii) The Chinese denial reflects not just a display of cool diplomacy on their part, but also their determination not to get embroiled in mutual recrimination and to avoid escalation of any kind, at all. This is also a measure of their general goodwill, basic sanity and peacefulness.

The second news item is a pointer towards a long-term solution to ensure lasting peace on earth. It may seem idealistic to some. To my mind, it is the only sane and practical way out.

The Situation Yesterday

"**Sino-Soviet Relations : Putting a Feeler Across The Border:** "China has taken the initiative in an apparent attempt to help speed up negotiations over its border dispute with the Soviet Union. In a greeting telegram to Moscow on the recent 57th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Chinese State Council asked for a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union A non-aggression pact between the two countries was first mooted by the Soviet Union in 1971. But it was not disclosed until September, 1973, when Soviet Communist Party Leader Leonid Brezhnev criticised the Chinese for not replying to the offer. The Chinese then replied that as long as the Soviets refused to agree to withdraw troops from the disputed areas of the border, there could be no non-aggression pact'.

"Since then, there has been a stalemate in border negotiations'...

"But in recent months, the negotiation climate has improved. Diplomats report that the Soviets have now made a major concession : they have agreed that international law is applicable in defining frontiers in shared rivers'...

"Even before the Chinese non-aggression pact offer, there were signs of a breakthrough in the border negotiations.'...

"**There seems to be a change of attitude on both sides.** Chinese leaders have this year stressed to their West European counterparts that China does not face any immediate threat from the Soviet Union.'...

"China uses its current unhealthy relations with the Soviet Union as a corner-stone in its policy towards the U S. The Soviets would similarly benefit by showing the U.S. that detente is possible."[1]...

The above report goes to show that :

(i) The Sino-Soviet Detente is not just a wishful myth but both a strategic objective and a possibility.

(ii) It is also a historically evolutionary development.

China : Why Vladivostok ?

"Officially, they expressed only mild concern. But when it was announced recently that President Ford and Soviet Party boss Leonid Brezhnev will hold a mini-summit conference in the Pacific port city of Vladivo stok at the end of this month, Chinese officials were privately fuming."

The reason is that this is among the territories disputed by the two countries. The Chinese call it "Hsien-wei".

"As a result, the decision to hold the Ford-Brezhnev summit there can only increase China's suspicions of U. S. policy—suspicions that have already led to a distinct cooling-off of relations between the two countries."

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[1]*Eric Pierre : Far Eastern Economic Review ; Nov. 22, 1974.*
[2]*Newsweek, November 11, 1974.*
[3]*Newsweek, November 11, 1974.*

The foregoing story has the following significance to my mind:

(i) The Vladivostok incident and the Chinese revival of the Soviet offer of a non-aggression pact belong to the same period of time. The former, instead of triggering off another stalemate in the Sino-Soviet relations, as might have happened short-sightedly, was registered non-the-less but was not allowed to effect the prospects of a Sino-Soviet detente (completely).

(ii) This is further borne out by the report that it has aroused/augmented Chinese suspicion of the Americans rather than the Russians. This means that the Chinese know where their interests lie ; and they are avoiding a hard line towards the Russians. They also want to pressurise or speed up the normalisation process with the Americans.

(iii) National interests/claims cannot be abandoned for a single objective, no matter how great or laudable. But negotiations towards a general improvement of relations can proceed despite disputed claims on either side. This is a very sober and practical approach.

The above was in Nov., 1974. This is April, 1976. Time has, if anything, only confirmed these conclusions.

Detente So Far

A Bi-Polar World : Ever since the Second World War, this has been largely, a bi-polar world, divided between the giant Super Powers, Russia and America. The division and definition was sustained through the chequered relationship of these two powers. It saw through wars in Korea and Vietnam, the Middle East and the erstwhile Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, etc., etc., many changes in Europe, revolutions in the third world and confrontations in Cuba and elsewhere. Finally, the concept stalemated into the **Cold-War**"—which events kept on menacing and the international situation, influencing.

Soviet-American Detente

This restricted, though historically true and somewhat justified, concept of the bi-polar world also limited the concept of 'detente' to the Two Super Powers. That was largely because they were the two main contestants and parties then involved in the global balance of power. The natural denouement of the Cold-War was also the Russo-American Detente. For wars, whether hot or cold, cannot last for ever. They are an unnatural and intermediary, tensionary stage in the process of normalization of relations.

Sino-American Detente

Not that peace-moves were not made in other directions. The recent Sino-American detente is an instance in hand. Even so, the world remained engrossed mostly in the American-Soviet Detente—despite the growing importance of China and the efforts of Sinologists. Consequently 'detente' is generally taken to mean Russo-American Detente. Much of the literature on the subjects is also confined primarily to this issue. The Sino-American detente raised quite a sensation in the world press. But, comparatively speaking, it happened so quickely, suddenly and surprisingly, that not much could have been produced on it in anticipation. Not that it is complete. Still, it is a welcome and accepted fact, if not an absolutely settled issue and a fait accompli. The Sino-American relations can, generally, be said to be growing gradually.

The Sino-Soviet Detente, for the very reason that by comparison with the American-Soviet detente, it was progressing by fits, starts and stalemates, over the last few years, should have attracted greater attention. But not enough has been written on it.

Towards A Multi-Polar World

"The multipolar balance of power has often been referred to as that system which is best to preserve world stability and

peace. However, there are others who view the system's complexity as a certain road-block to the goal it seeks. The opportunities for breakdown in a multipolar system are great indeed, but the flexibility it offers may provide the most viable programme for future world peace"[1].

"We must remember the only time in the history of the world that we have had any extended periods of peace is when there has been balance of power .. I think it will be a safer world and a better world if we have a strong, healthy US, Europe, Soviet Union, China, Japan, each balancing the other, not playing off one against the other, an even balance." (-President Nixon). Prof. Walter L. Burrows has debated the above contentions in his article[2]. He writes : "Clearly the pentagonal system which Nixon describes has not yet emerged. Bipolarity may have given way to multipolarity in certain spheres of life (e.g. economic and technological), but in what Stanely Hoffman calls "high politics" (military-strategic-political), the United States and the Soviet Union still dominate. Japan and Western Europe depend for their ultimate security upon the United States, and China is too hampered by economic and technological underdevelopment to yet claim great power status on a global (as opposed to regional) scale. So, for the next few years, an "even balance" in the 19th century sense—which seems to be the basis for Nixon's Neo-Metternichean vision – cannot materialise, simply because of huge power inequalities among the five major actors. But what about a longer time-span, say 10 or 12 years ?"

By the very act of proceeding to discuss the proposition, the author cited above, has impliedly conceded the possibility and even desirability of a multipolar balance of power system, in the larger and lasting interest of world peace.

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[1] *Naval War College Review, USA ; March-April, 1974.*

[2] *"A Multipolar 1984" appearing in the American, March-April 1974, "Naval War College Review".*

Nuclear Proliferation

Nuclear proliferation has seen the emergence of regional powers. These are bound to multiply with the passage of time, with developments in nuclear technology, political power, economic growth and regional and global power politics, e.g., India, Iran, Japan, Israel, Australia, etc. The emergence of regional powers, alone, is a single decisive factor leading to multi-polarity. The global powers will make a bid to control strategic regions and areas through these regional powers. In fact, many of them are being elevated to that level by the big powers for this purpose.

Signs and portents—international and regional, are clearly pointing in the direction of multipolarism. The major determining factors are : (i) nuclear proliferation ; (ii) energy crisis and control of oil-power ; and (iii) inflation, food shortage, population explosion, and economic pressures. These dictate the scramble for power—national, regional and international.

Multipolar Detente

Multi-polarity will necessitate an enlargement of the concept of detente in a multi-directional manner. It will became global and universal. It will have to change with the events and grow with the times.

Detente As Strategy

So far detente has been regarded mainly as a "Cold war strategy in transition"[1]. The key words, 'strategy', 'transition' and 'cold war', are most revealing. There is, no doubt, that detente so far was generally a slogan for temporay peace and a matter of expediency and strategy. Even so, it served its purpose ; and therefore can only be applauded and supported

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[1]*Ref : 'Detente" : Edited by : E.L. Dulles and E.D. Crane. Published for: "The Centre for Strategic Studies", Georgetown University, USA. Pub. by F.A: Praeger, NY 1965):*

rather than condemned. It has remained linked with the cold war. But not to extend it. Rather, to disengage, contain and divert it into something lasting and valuable, i.e., peace. The expression 'transition' refers to the transitional nature of the strategy as well as the cold war.

Peaceful Co-Existence

The Cold War ended in detente, which, by the very logic of human motivation and nature, history and evolution, must lead to peace or peaceful co-existence. The confrontation of ideologies has given way to their co-existence. A multipolar, multidimensional, multiregional world can survive only through the morality—rather than tactics and strategy—of peaceful co-existence. Competition must give way to cooperation, to make detente more meaningful.

The Evolutionary Syndrome

Confrontations may lead to wars. They, in turn, are bound to end up in a cessation of hostilities. There may result a stalemate or a cold war. But the last is finally resolved in detente. Somewhat parallel to the analogy of the classical trinity of logic and human reasoning: thesis—antithesis—synthesis, the evaluation of war and peace can be traced to the steps: confrontation-war-peace. Or: war-cold war-detente. Like war and cold war, detente, too, is a transitory phenomenon, i.e., transitional and intermediary. It is not and cannot be an end in itself. It is a means to the end—peace and survival. The dictionary meaning of 'detente' is 'end of strained relations'. The logical trilogy in the case of detente is: detente (end of hostilities)—entente-('friendly understanding between countries')—peaceful co-existence. The cold war gradually leads to a thaw and detente. Then negotiations, understanding and treaties or pacts are entered into and exchanged or signed. All this activity is intended to lead to a secure and dependable peace.

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[1]*Oxford Dictionary*.

The evolutionary forces of human nature, logic and historical conduct all necessitate and move in the direction of detente, entente and peaceful co-existence.

Humanising Peace

Peace, in order to be fruitful/meaningful, must be :

(i) lasting ; (ii) purposive ; and (iii) progressive. It must be for the general and abiding good of mankind. For this, the term peaceful co-existence must be elevated from the level of expediency and tactics, make-do and make-shift, to the heights of morality. For this, merely tacit peaceful co-existence is not enough. It will have to be active, cooperative, purposive and progressive, ever-evolving from understanding to understanding, strength to strength and success to success.

Normalising Detente

Since detente leads to peaceful co-existence, it, too, must not only be broad-based and generalised to apply to and serve all humanity politically, it needs to be raised to the level of ethics and morality, in order to be effective and successful. Let it be a corner stone in the collective sub-conscious and historical psyche of mankind. Let it be a hallmark in the human conscience. Only when the implication of the term detente is enlarged enough to embrace the entire humanity, only when it is moralised and humanised beyond colour bars and national frontiers, will we be assured of survival and enduring peace.

The deepening, or at least unresolved, Energy and Middle East Crises and the occasional set-backs to general Detente would further necessitate a multi-dimensional and catholic approach to and global spreading out of detente—especially in the Afro-Asian region. If in the USSR it indicates an edge of the Russian hawks over their doves, the hawks, also, will not be too hawkish in all directions. National interests will

prompt a normalising of tension along the frontiers and borders. Likewise, the new constitution announced by China is a colossal event for Sinologists and Strategists. It had, for one, answered the long-standing big question : "What after Mao ?" — right in the life-time of Mao and Chou—En Lai. The Chinese have also, at the same time, reaffirmed the five classic principles of their ideology and policy. This assures one of a continuity in their views, and ways in the foreseeable further. Three points out of these five basic principles are most significant at this time :-

(i) That China does not aspire to Super Power Status.

(ii) That it will continue to strengthen its ties with the Third World ; and to work for global peace.

(iii) That it will do all it can to close-knit the socialist fraternity.

Apart from these, the USSR, too, seems to be following a rather low-key policy towards the ASP (Asian Security Plan/Proposal) lately.

In the Afro-Asian context, the above are very important. Even if (i) above does not offer a walk-over to Russia, (iii) is quite an indication of the Chinese willingness to improve relations with the Soviets. Perhaps it is now for the USSR to respond positively to these indices, if not overtures.

Detente And China

It was only in the 1960s that China began to be taken note of, in international forums and global strategy. The Chinese support of the Third World and Afro-Asia, of the national liberation movements throughout the world and of global peace, made this inevitable. Its persistent friendship with Pakistan made its presence felt all the more strongly in this region. The global powers first tried to ignore and then encircle it. Its nuclear capability, above all, enabled it to emerge at least partly out of such attempted containment.

Perhaps the first proof of that was the Sino-American Detente. More has yet to follow. Clear signs are there that it is in the offing. Prof. Barrows was quoted earlier to say that China is not yet in a position to 'claim great power status on a global scale'. The point to note here is that China has refused consistently to be regarded as and enter the ranks of super powers. This attitude is determined by China's concept of detente: it wants to ensure peace rather than status.

South-West Asia

Geo-politically—especially after the severing of its eastern wing, Pakistan, to set the record right, is a South-West Asian rather than a purely South-Asian state. It is also an ideological state; Islam being its pre-destined and determined ideology. By remaining in South-West Asia, its traditional ties with the Muslim World, Russia and China are not disturbed. But by being classed in South Asia, exclusively, the sinister move may be to place it under the Indian hegemony. This has to be resisted wisely and well.

South-West Asia is, today, a focal point in world politics. Pakistan is its strategic part—both because of its land routes to the warm waters and its sentinel-like position vis-a-vis the Arabian Sea and the Afro-Asian (or Afrasian) Ocean. South-West Asia is surrounded by big powers and regional powers, nuclear powers and potentially-nuclear powers. These are: Russia and China; India, Israel, Iran and Japan. Of the world's half a dozen nuclear powers today, three are in this region. Understandably, for the world as for Afro-Asia, its importance cannot be over-emphasized. Its population and manpower, arms race and nuclear capability, oil, mineral and agricultural wealth, potential, power and strategic position, all contribute to its importance.

Pakistan's Position-Location

Pakistan naturally belongs to this region—geo-politically, historically, socio-culturally, economically and religiously.

It is yet a small and poor but determined and resilient country struggling for survival. Its greatest fear is from its most persistent, historical and neighbouring adversary, India. The Indian nuclear potential is naturally most disturbing for it. Pakistan wants to have good relations with all its neighbours, including India and Afghanistan. But not at the cost of its national interests, sovereignty and independence ; peace and prosperity ; progress and development ; claims and principles. Pakistan firmly believes in and upholds the morality of peaceful co—existence in local, regional and global affairs. Tragically, it has already lost much : at partition time and after, including the unnoticed but strategic Muslim majority Afro-Asian Ocean islands like the Maldives. It just cannot afford to lose more.

Above all, Pakistan is a strategic buffer zone of peace between all the countries that neighbour and surround it. Their peace lies in its survival. That is the key secret of Pakistan's liberty and continued existence.

Pak-China Friendship

This has come to stay. It has grown from strength to strength. Its future and prospects are rosy.

Pak-Indian Relations

These are improving gradually. Which is a sagacious decision. But so long as unresolved issues remain—like Kashmir—and new ones like anominous relook at the Indus Basin Waters' Treaty—on account of its defiance by India—or the clamitous failure of Tarbela ; and the strategic Muslim majority Afro-Asian islands—crop up, there will always lurk a challenge to peace. There may not be an actual war. But subversion—especially ideological—can be equally menacing and annoying. Above all, for Pakistan, neither friendship nor peace, could ever mean capitulation, compromise or acceptance of foreign domination.

Pak-Soviet Relations

These are gradually warming up. Too long has Pakistan looked at Russia through western eyes. In the past, the Russian prospective friend became a menacing Polar bear; an ideological enemy and an unrelenting adversary who almost always vetoed Pakistan at the U.N. Both Russian and Pakistan fell a prey to the machinations of others and took a hard line towards each other. Both are to blame for this. But now, thank God, the air is fast clearing up. People in Pakistan are beginning to realise that Russia does not intend to decimate Pakistan—thanks to Soviet clarifications and assurances and Pakistan's own efforts.

The Asian Security Plan

The most telling point about it is that it has not been spelt out clearly and completely, though it has been posed often as a feeler, and discussed oftener. But its objectives remain largely a matter of speculatory study. The question is : Security for whom and from whom ? Is it designed to be a ring around China—to contain or at least to encircle it? If so, Pakistan cannot, obviously, be a party to it. For it cannot afford to lose (perhaps) the only true, tried, tested and lasting friend it has(in the 'Red' camp).

Or is the A.S.P. (Asian Security Plan) to emphasize Russian leadership of Asia—or to pressurise the Chinese into detente with Russia ? This might well be possible. Of late, the plan hasn't been heard of much. Especially since the Chinese revival of the Russian no-war pact offer. This further lends credibility to the hypothesis that the A.S.P. might have been meant : partly to serve as a lever to effect a Sino-Soviet Detente.

Pakistan And The A.S.P.

Short of formally entering such an alliance—which may also be intended to be a counter to the CENTO and SEATO—and thereby antagonizing its friends and allies—Pakistan can

actively consider, after duly consulting its dependable friends, to accommodate the Soviets and Afghans—as far as our immediate and long—term national interests permit. This could include transit trade facilities over land and down to the sea. Pakistan may have to choose between a military alliance like the A.S.P. and an economic arrangement like a mutually beneficial transit trade pact. But there would be no point in giving up one military agreement like the CENTO for another like the A.S.P. This also belies the Russian rejection of military pacts.

Pak-Iran Relations

These are, some suspect, though cordial, not as warm as they used to be. But the latest Izmir Summit and what preceded it, disprove this or at least tell a different story. The Indo-Iranian mutual courtship is now quite well known. That is no reason for Pakistan to get discouraged. In fact, it should accept the challenge of competition and put up good resistance. Iranian and Muslim world capital could be attracted for investment in Pakistan.

Foreign aid can be diverted to develop our maritime resources, e.g., ports and anchor facilities, ship-building, fishing, etc.—as well as to build up a strong defensive navy. Only that can prevent a blockade of Pakistan and ensure its links with the rest of the region and the Muslim world. The land and air routes have their obvious limitations. That will also pace up the modernization and development of Baluchistan.

Sino-Indian Relations

These have been at a low ebb since the 1962 Indo-Chinese War. But India is quite capable of springing a surprise and trying to normalise its relations with China, given the chance and time—as is now happening already. (But Indian aspirations of Greater Bharat and the leadership of Afro-Asia will stand in the way.) That may be partly to 'contain' the Pak-China

alliance and partly to counter-poise the balance of power in the region, so far as Russia is concerned. To assert the Indian independence of Russia.

Indo-Soviet Relations

Despite all their pacts, treaties, agreements, and friendship, some political analysts and international relationists believe that there are inherent contradictions in the Indo-Soviet relations. These tend to focus round: (i) India's fast-growing nuclear potential; (ii) its regional and big-power ambitions; (iii) its desire to dominate South Asia; (iv) its thrust into the (Indian) Afro-Asian Ocean; and (v) its leadership of this sub-continent as of Afro-Asia. Some of these trends and developments have, of course, been encouraged by Russia, so far or in the past. But Russia had little or no hand in Indian 'nuclearism'. The blame for that goes to the West.

For that very reason, among others, the West will not disown India and India will not break off from the West. In the opinion of both, the world's biggest democracy after America, would be at stake.

For this same reason, the Russians cannot depend on the Indians, completely. With Western and/or Chinese support, they can be quite a teaser to the Soviets. In such an event, the A.S.P. (Asian Security Plan—minus India), can be a ring around India.

Pak-American Ties

These are professedly good. America boosts Pakistan's morale occassionally by declaring that it upholds the independence and integrity of Pakistan. But arms aid (not sale) even for defence is not resumed—despite the military imbalance caused by India's population, size, power and nuclear potential of threat and blackmail, if not of actual militancy.

Of late, visiting Americans have raised eyebrows, hopes and speculations in and around Pakistan. If promises of

resumed arms aid are a fresh bait for bases (—for Diego Garcia is only the beginning of a come-back) and a feeler for crippling dependence, Pakistan is better off without such resumption. At least the Russians are certainly not going to like it. And we should be happier without a red circle—this time around the whole of petite Pakistan.

Pakistan's Defences

Too long has Pakistan depended blindly on the distant West for its defence, and either ignored or even antagonised its natural, neighbouring allies and geo-political friends. But Pakistan's strength and defence lies in its acceptance of this fact—and of its position as a strategic South West Asian buffer state of peace. Above all, its strength lies within itself—in its will to live and spirit to survive—translated into its Ideology—Islam. Without that, speaking pessimistically, rather, tragically, it might one day get crushed by the forces and pressures of history. Or be openly reclaimed by India, become an appendage of Iran or Afghanistan or another nominally Muslim Soviet Republic—God forbid! Or be reduced to a big power satellite. The ideological way is the hard and rigorous, trying and testing way of suffering and sacrifice for the nation. The price is certainly worth paying.

South-West Asian Compulsions

The pressures and compulsions in this region are diverse and multi-dimensional, e.g. :—

(i) Geo-politically—Multipolar—local, regional, and global.

(ii) Economic—poverty, oil and energy crisis, price hikes, inflation and spreading, world-wide, imported recession and stagflation.

(iii) Demographic—population explosion and dispersal. national, regional and global.

The Way Out

All these require a multi-dimensional solution. Such a solution is a multipolar, regio-global solution to ensure a stable, 'even' and lasting balance of peace and power in the region. More so, when the West, led by America, is staging a come-back. And Iran, India and Japan are emerging as regional powers. India's technology is an asset. But its size, population and poverty, are an impediment in its way. Iran and Japan have no such problems, comparatively. China's relations with Iran and Japan are good. Russia is on a sound footing with Japan and India. Her relations with Iran are managing to endure the well-known strains and are cordial. The way out would include, among other things :

(i) **Sino-Soviet Detente**—above all. No doubt their differences are multi-dimensional and not just Ideological—i.e. the interpretation and implementation of the socialist creed. They are territorial, national, economic and political, too. But they are not insurmountable. Only such a detente can check-mate the Indian expansionism, which is allegedly being aided and abetted by the West. But this detente has to be moral and humanistic, broad based and catholic, genuine and sincere, lasting and ensuring active peaceful co-existence, as discussed earlier. Both China and Russia need a period of peace at this stage to stabilize themselves. To meet the challenge of common foes, and to work for common objectives. China is now a full-fledged nuclear and big power. The days of Chinese containment/encirclement are over. This is an era of Chinese acceptance and detente.

(ii) **Multipolarism** : The detente discussed above is possible if the concept of the peaceful co-existence of ideologies, powers and nations is accepted. The world today is a multipolar world comprising big or global powers and regional powers, with innumerable

states, countries and nations of all kinds, sizes and descriptions thrown in. Thus detente and multipolarism are not opposed and antagonistic, but complementary and supporting.

(iii) **Spheres of Influence** : Russia and China being the two major powers in the region, may eventually enter an entente or understanding on a loose kind of 'division' of Afro-Asia and this region into their respective spheres of influence.

(iv) **Bilateralism.** Obviously such a classification (rather this 'divison') can not be of the bipolar classical type—hard and rigid That would lead to the evils and excesses of bipolarity—at least of a regional kind. Therefore bilateralism will have to be granted and ensured. That means, all nations will be absolutely free to enter into mutual relations with any other nation or power, big or small, regional or global—for peace, mutual benefit and national good, despite any loose kind of Sino-Soviet spheres of influence.

(v) **Neutralism** : This was essentially a result of bipolarism. Small and medium nations did not want to take sides and get involved in big power politics. But now neturalism has been rendered unnecessary by multipolarism—global and regional, and by bilateralism. A distinction can also be made between neutralism, non-alignment and independence. Instead, bilateralism has replaced Neutralism. Global trends and developments—contemporary and future—will lend it more support ; notably :

(i) A fast-shrinking world.

(ii) A weakening U.N., in the case of the withdrawal of full support by the U.S., West Germany, Britain or any Western member of it—or even the oil-rich. Third World or Group of 77.

(iii) Bilateralism and multipolarism will be necessary even to strengthen the U.N., especially if it gets the support of the populous and oil rich Third World, Afro-Asia and the Muslim countries. For this, the veto at the Security Council may have to be altered, to effect a healtheir balance of power.

(iv) The growing realisation that global problems like: inflation, recession and food shortage; population explosion and dispersal; arms race, nuclear proliferation, war and detente, peace and peaceful co-existence —will need a global outlook, strategy and solution.

Pakistan And Its Big Brothers

Overlooking its shoulders, Pakistan is flanked on either side by its big brothers, Russia and China. Their relations with the countries in the region are generally on a sound footing—with some exceptions. Pakistan can not afford to lose either. Historically, both these powers have had a big hand in the destiny of Pakistan. The role of Russia has unfortunately been linked with our relations with India and the Kashmir issue. This unhappy link can be served and the past forgiven start. Russia, no doubt, has been vetoing on Kashmir. But it also played a significant part at Tashkent. History or destiny may yet have decreed that it might come in handy again over the Kashmir issue.

If the foregoing be the facts, can Pakistan, also, in its own humble capacity and modest manner, contribution effectively to the progress of the proposed Sino-Soviet Dentente?—to avoid being pressurised and pulled by them in different directions—and to restore the deteriorating balance of peace and power (—because of Indian nuclear expansionism) in the area. And in the larger and lasting interest of regional and global peace and the good of humanity.

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Towards A New Economics Order : of Donors And Recipients

Towards A New Economic Order : On The Need For Changing The Priorities And Criteria Of Donor Countries

Main Global Problems

So far as the world's donor and aid-receiving countries are concerned, the main problems of this earth are :

(i) Population explosion.

(ii) Uneven distribution of human population in the world.

(iii) Under-development.

(iv) Uneven distribution of wealth and resources among mankind.

(v) Universal unemployment, especially in the under-developed and developing countries.

(iv) Insecurity to peace and consequent arms rate-race, instead of economic and agricultural development, in the Third World.

(vii) India's Nuclear Demonstration Effect and proliferation. Other Afro Asian countries, too, might like to acquire nuclear tusks and teeth—whether for peaceful or defence purposes.

(viii) The demonstration effect of western wastefulness materialism and exorbitant standards of living, on the east, is also contagious and crippling.

(ix) Global inflation stagflation; and price-hikes, economic crises and shortages.

(x) Universal and organised corruption ; hoarding, black-marketing and smuggling, especially in poor countries.

Universal Approach

The above are universal problems. They call for a universal approach, on an organised and universal level and by a universal organisation, to bear fruitful results. Not that there are no universal organisations like the U.N. and its agencies etc. at play. Nor is the intention to dissolve national frontiers and regional boundaries and invoke a world government. But certainly a more fraternal, united, humanitarian and universal point of view can—and should—prevail. What is urgently needed is a change in the prevalent outlook and attitudes of both the aid giving and receiving countries. The status-quo and traditional takens-for-granted must go. The conventional 'givens' and assumptions have to be discarded. The existing prioritioes and criteria have to be reformed and recast. A world order, a universal brotherhood of mankind, a colourless and classless humanism, a new humanitarianism of global cooperation and purposive coexistence and a more responsive and responsible, moral and ethical philosophy of human oneness are the only sane and lasting answer to the problems of life and death, food, clothing and shelter, disease and health, war and peace, already listed. Otherwise the Third World, led by groups of 77 etc; will assert itself in the pressure tactics of games of petro-dollars and energy crisis etc, etc.

The following are some of the more important areas which require immediate attention and change.

(i) **Motives of Aid** : Aid should certainly be without any strings, at all. Tied and stipulated aid is no aid. The intention should be not just to tide over an immediate problem or aid an existing project or programme but,

in the long run, to enable the recipient to stand on his own feet. Not to cripple him and turn him into an eternal beggar. Not expediency. But long term, over-all development and the attainment of self-sufficiency. That would ultimately lessen the number of dependents on the donors and may even swell the ranks of the latter.

(ii) **Population Explosion :** The poorer a country, people and family, the higher its rate of population growth and the more its population explosion. Efforts at poplation control in such cases are half-hearted, unscientific, ineffective and wasteful. Generally discouraging, if not totally unsuccessful.

Aid to such countries should be not (just) to feed their populations but to curb and control them. So far, population ratios and statistics have been a positive factor in granting aid: the high the population, the greater the claim for larger aid. Henceforth, it could be considered to regard the population index as a negative factor in giving aid. This may turn out to be a definite deterrent to those countries which capitalise on their populations to get more and live on charity. Their potential, utility and contribution to Humanity, their will to solve their own problems, including those of population, and their ability to fend for themselves and stand on their own feet, would be more positive, encouraging, progressive and inspiring criteria for giving aid. Too long have many such countries added to the worries of mankind with their spiralling population, without doing a thing about it—and getting away with much dole, sympathy and a pat on the back. It is time they were taken to task for that. They have no business to indulge in an arms rat-race when their millions are starving and dying. If aid has to be tied, four valid specifications could be : (a) aid for economic development only ; (b) military aid should be limited (c) diversion of economic aid to military channels should be 'banned', (d) and even domestic spending

on an arms race—as distinet from essential defence spending—should be discouraged.

(iii) **The Demographic Factor :** If it has to be a genuine world order and a universal point of view, then, ideally speaking, the uneven distribution of the human population in the world needs to be more evened out. Population migration on a global level may yet be a far cry. But within national—and even international boundaries it could be tried out, at least experimentally. To some extent this phenomenon takes place all the time. It is natural for employment opportunities and resources to attract a degree of population migration. But it can be programmed on more scientific lines, in order to relieve population density, to spread the butter more thinly or equitably, to tap untapped sources, till virgin soils and develop buried natural resources.

(iv) **Under-Development :** Mankind can pool its resources i.e. (a) human resources and manpower ; (b) skill, know-how, science and technology ; (c) industry ; (d) agriculture ; (e) natural and mineral resources ; (f) captial (g) defence potential—to bless humanity with plenty, progress and peace. Aid should be directed not just to countries big in population and size but rich in other potential, also, e.g. agricultural, natural and mineral resources. A relatively smaller country which is rich in such potential is more likely to attain self-sufficiency or at least reach the take-off stage, than an over-populted baigger country. Such a sharing of skills and resources is one way of coping with the uneven distribution of wealth among mankind.

(v) **Unemployment :** Aid, as we all know, can be in cash or kind. Commodity aid, food, tools, hard-ware, machinery, equipment, armament etc. are all part of the latter. The provision of experts, expertise and guidance

is human as opposed to material aid. Yet another—though very limited—kind of aid can be helpful to solve the unemployment problem of the recipient country by welcoming its populace generally—and specifically, by providing jobs to some of its unemployed.

(vi) **Peace And The Arms Race :** The Indian nuclear example is an aid to nuclear proliferation and the arms race, for the fear and phobia of insecurity it has generated are genuine. The cause of peace can best be helped by : (a) working for the N.N.P.T. (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty); (b) carving out stabie nuclear free zones—on land, peace sea and in the air ; and (c) by the big powers—global and regional—in providing the "nuclear umbrella" or protection and guarantees, to non-nuclear states. That would be a definite way to cope with the arms race and nuclear proliferation, both.

This, then, is another interpretation and amplification of the term "Aid". Aid thus becomes both moral and material, human and humanitarian.

It seems too callous and fanciful for starving and over-populated countries, like India, to aspire for nuclear development for prestigious or even peaceful (so-called) purposes. Its desire for acquiring regional power status is hegemonical and chauvinistic. Its entering the portals of the Security Council will definitely disturb the balance of power and peace, not only regional but universal. The cost implications of nuclear development even for peace are stupendous. A poor country with an excessive surplus of manpower could concentrate on cheaper conventional means of development, unless absolutely essential and unavoidable.

(vii) **Inflation And Energy Crisis :** At least a part of the present world-wide inflation is attributable to the prevalent energy crisis. One way of aiding the underdeveloped, non-energy producing countries is

to control the prices of essential commodities, goods and services and of energy and offer them at concessional rates—in exchange for their surplus manpower and produce. Another is to encourage joint, regional or international venturs in oil and energy prospecting. Efforts to tap alternates and substitutes can also be undertaken corporately. Conserving, reservoiring and sharing of energy and other resources is also likely to help much.

(viii) **Social Evils :** Social evils, like corruption, hoarding, black-marketing and smuggling find their way from one borderland to another. They give a fillip to the desire for easy money, on the one hand, and disrupt the economy and civic code of the poor countries, on the other. Social evils like smuggling would not be possible without (i) internal corruption and (ii) foreign "aid" or assistance. Needless to say that more effective and universal methods need to be evolved to cope with them.

(ix) **Western Living Standards :** Western liberalism, progress and democracy are one thing, exorbitant western standards of living, are quite another. Their demonstration effect is quick and pernicious. A poor society just cannot afford the luxury. What is more, it widens the gulf between the thin minority urban population and the vast majority rural population of the Third World ; and makes the dichotomy more tragic—in social, political and economic terms and implications. Material aid is one thing, the aid of ideas and ideals another, and that of false fads, fashions and living standards, through trips abroad or foreign experts and advisers at home—etc., yet another. It is not fair of the west to deviously smuggle out or export its expensive westernism alongwith its commodity, human and ideational aid. Nor is it wise of the recipients to accept such "aid". But it is not enough to recognise

these limitsand limitations. A whole, conscious movement would be necessary to introduce the requisite resistence and reform. The participants in it will have to be both the donors and the recipients. Eastern sagacity, simplicity and contentment--though old and ('dated' ?) virtues, are still relevant ; in fact, most essential for the salvation of our starving millions.

(x) **Pattern Of Development :** The future pace, trend and pattern of develompent of the Afro-Asian countries is most important for their survival. As things are, it ill-suits them to be : (a) trigger-happy and militaristic ; (b) blindly western, imitative of alien economic models, planning and systems, and capitalistic ; and (c) dashing away at break-neck speed, being poor, over-populated, agricultural economies, they have to realise that these typicalities of theirs are their pitfalls. But they can become their assets, also. Only if they opt for labour-intensive, agriculture-based, integrated development programmes and projects for instance, on the modern Chinese pattern.

South-West Asia

Because of the Indian nuclear menace, South, South West and South East Asia are, also, no longer as safe as they used to be.It is erroneously—or mischievously—attempted by some to wean it away from its more natural and traditional North Western milieu and to place Pakistan in South Asia, alone - under the Indian chauvinistic and expansionist hegemony—extending even to the rest of the Muslim world. India's attempted inroads into it are now obvious. One intention seems to be to alienate and isolate Pakistan from it. And to re-absorb Pakistan, in some form, into the Mother Indian myth. To the Europeans, the balkanisation ('vivisection') of Germany and other states appeals as a familiar— though false and misleading—example. Such theories are typical of the American and German Jewery. In fact, the feeler of a South-East Asian States Zone or

Region is sometimes mooted slyby.— as a regional counter-balance, both to Russia and China. But the fact remains that Pakisian is a strategic South-Western State. It links South Asia with South-West Asia, the Middle-East and the Muslim Brotherhood. It is the symbol of Muslim unity and strength. Pakistan has as much in common with these as with South Asia, if not more. With the latter, it has some conflicts and contradictions, too, e.g. with India. But with the former it has cultural, religious, geo-political, economic and historical commonness and geographical contiguity to unite it. South-West Asia like South Asia and the Afro-Asian Ocean, is a fertile, prospective peace zone. It is rich in human, agricultural and natural resources. If clubbed and pooled together, it can become a veritable zone of progress, peace and plenty. "Foreign Aid"—if reinterpreted and galvanised according to the criteria already discussed, can help tremendously to achieve that. The Muslim world (or the "Fourth World"), a Pakistan included, can play a vital role in this new policy of active, peaceful and progressive regional co-existence, cooperation, good-will and brotherhood through emancipated and enlightened aid without strings.

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American Policy In South-West Asia: Prospects and Possibilities

American Policy in South West Asia: Prospects and Possibilities

General Disillusionment

"The two super-powers have beefed up their military strength in the Indian Ocean. The scramble for this area between the United States and the Soviet Union will become even fiercer in the days to come." [1]

Disillusionment with : (i) the American foreign policy generally ; (ii)American policy interests in the East and (iii) U.S. commitments with the Third World, set in long before its fate in Viet-Nam. In fact, it became a standing joke that whichever side the Americans backed, lost—in battle as well as on the conference table. America also acquired a reputation, among the general masses, of backing out of commitments and leaving a friend or alley in lurch, at the most crucial moment of its history. The Americans and their lobbies all over the world might say that these are exaggerations. But exaggerations, by their very nature and implication, are often basically true—even if they be distortions and caricatures of the truth. And the lessons of recent history cannot be denied.

1. *Peking Review, Jan. 14, 1972.*

Cynicism in Pakistan

In Pakistan, despite all the pacts, treaties, aids, alliances, understandings and commitments—suspended and not—the ambivalence and even the chill in the Pak-American relations set in with the 1965 Indo-Pak War. The fall of Dacca added to our dejection. And therefore the popular cynicism towards things like the SEATO and CENTO, in spite of all the recent attempts to rejuvenate the latter.

Ford and Henry Kissinger

This is why if President Ford or Henry Kissinger is repeatedly reassuring the entire world and even Pakistan of American commitments in future, he does not seem to make much of a dent. Is it simply a case of 'once bitten, twice shy ? Such reassurances are partly taken to mean self-reassurance, in view of a sagging or defeated morale, and some face-saving.

The American Policy

The fact remains that the American policy in South or South West Asia—and in this sub-continent, for that matter, is taken to be a part of : (i) America's assessment of its own global interests as well as role, and (ii) its global strategy and foreign policy, especially vis-a-vis the world powers. A super power does not work in isolation, despite all the bilateralism that it might subscribe to, in precept and even in practice, quite genuinely.

The Present Dilemma

The cynicism described above is also the answer to the queries made these days by the American lobby as to what is expected of the American policy in the days to come. That is

because nations have their own interests to take care of, independent of American interests.

Different Interests

If America really wants to rehabilitate itself in the estimation of the East—or the world, for the matter of it, it will have to ensure that its interests coincide, as far as possible, with national, regional and world interests. These may be and indeed, are, quite conflicting, at times. That is precisely, any super-power's and the world's supreme dilemma.

Major Interests/Problems

The said interests or problems can be listed below :

(i) Fighting inflation.

(ii) Coping with the energy crisis.

(iii) Combating poverty.

(iv) Tackling the population explosion.

(v) Preventing the arms race.

(vi) Stalling nuclear proliferation.

(vii) Ensuring regional and global peace.

(viii) Securing national independence and sovereignty.

(ix) Enhapcing detente and peaceful co-existence.

(x) Providing rogional and global balance of power and peace.

Changing Interests

The Third World is not much interested in obsolete arms from the war junks of Vietnam: Nor in stringed and tied aid of sorts. All that has proved to be too bitter for the underdeveloped countries and the developing world, to be tempted by it again. This time it will have to be something more substantial and dependable—in war and peace,

The Undemocratic Paradox

The greatest puzzle and paradox about the American policy abroad is that, though the U.S.A. itself claims to be—and is—no matter how imperfect—quite a democracy at home—it has associated and even aligned itself with unpopular and undemocratic individuals, governments and regimes, some tottering, some only apparently stable but really just skin-deep. Sometimes it has even set up or at least helped to set up puppet and personalised coteries and cliques. These have been democratic in name but dictatorial and fascist in spirit. They have gone counter to the popular pressure groups and power elites within those countries. Thus have nationalist and peoples' movements been thwarted and the democratic process been obstructed in the Third World by American agents and puppets, lording it over as kings and monarchs, feudals and bureaucrats, generals and dictators. The result was, unstable and stage-manageable regimes, which danced to the tunes of the Pied Piper and remained effectively remote-controlled. Internal trouble or international and regional pressures (like limited war) could always come in handy to rectify faltering or recalcitrant nations and governments, both.

This type of American foreign policy—as it emerged retrospectively and in hind-sight, in results and practice—which has tended to control national policies and internal affairs, and stoke regional differences, was bound to become unpopular. For it went counter to progressive and democratic forces and choke national aspirations. It also upset the regional balance of power.

The Future

If, in future, there is going to be a continuity in this policy, the US popularity will reach a further 'low' in the developing/under-developed countries—in view of past experience and present reactions and realities.

Essential Steps

If, however, the U.S. wants to restore its tarnished name and image, and regain its lost prestige and position, it may have to consider the following steps :

(i) Identify and align itself, so far as possible, with the popular trends, peoples' progressive movements, nationalist objectives and democratic aspirations—in brief, with the national interests, of the small and medium nations of Afro-Asia, especially the unprotected, non-nuclear ones.

(ii) Therefore, to support popular, democratic governments which ensure a free play of the democratic process and institutionalise the rule of law and democracy, instead of personalising and slogan-mongering merely the name of it.

(iii) Respect and support the popular national, regional and global interests/aspirations, and help to solve their well-known problems, already listed.

(iv) Above all, to ensure national independence and sovereignty, in the context of regional co-existence and regional and global peace.

(v) The above is doubtful in the face of wide-spread poverty and population explosion; economic and political instability and a general arms race and nuclear proliferation, above all.

(vi) If the above is not considered possible, the least that can be done is not to interfere in local, national and regional politics, at all, instead of trying to flow against the times and tide.

Regional Balance of Power

In the South Asian situation, the regional balance of power has been precariously upset by the Indian arms race,

military might and nuclear potential added to its already colossal size, expansionist and colonial designs and staggering population. Both America and Russia are generally being blamed for this, in common opinion. A major policy objective of the U.S., in this respect, may have to be, to restore this defiled balance—in concert with—or even in spite of—other global and regional powers.

Conclusions

If the American South Asian or South West Asian policv is adapted to accept the present aud changing realities of the regional situation, and to march with the times, it still has ample chances of success and popularity. If not, the US might as well opt back for its historical 'isolationism'—provided it can afford that. But the times have changed drastically since then. The entire American global interests and world strategy would be at stake. Opting for isolationism may tantamount, ultimately, to elect the wall or the corner. As such, this seems to be only a theoretical choice.

Cessation of the Nuclear Arms Race

"There is shortly to be a meeting in Geneva of signatory states of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty for the purpose of seeing what progress has been made towards the objectives of the treaty. One of the worries of the 103 non-nuclear signatories is that their interests have not been sufficiently safeguarded by the great powers in the years since the original treaty was signed'.

"One of the clauses of the treaty engaged the nuclear signatories to negotiate towards the "the cessation of the nuclear arms race". And this is the issue on which both the Soviet Union and the United States can expect a considerable degree of criticism in Geneva. For, in the eyes of most small states, precious little effort has been made in this direction.

And they point to the last round of summit talks between the two countries as evidence of this. Perhaps Messres. Ford and Brezhnev and their advisors thought little of this coming embarrassment when they worked together in Vladivostok to limit nuclear delivery vehicles to 2,400 on each side, of which number as many as 1,320 could be "multiple independently targetable".'

"In agreeing to these figures, the United States thought it was saving the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). Its negotiators felt that once outer limits to permitted nuclear armaments were agreed, it might be possible more easily to negotiate agreements on lesser matters within the limits. There is some logic in this, but the Ford-Brezhnev agreement has been harshly criticised, and not least from within the United States, for giving the Communists a further license to continue their bid for world domination".

(The Swiss Press and News Report ;
Bern, dated 7th April, 1975).

What followed SALT—I and II—is well-known and perhaps hopeful. There is no choice but to continue the effort.

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Reorganising the Ruling Party: Objectives, Criteria and Principles

Reorganising the Ruling Party : Objectives, Criteria and Principles

The Dire Necessity

"The reorganisation of the party (—P. P. P.) is essential. This is the order of the Quaid-e-Awam and this, the dictate of the circumstances. Before taking any step, it is necessary to determine the principles and methodology required to solve a problem." (—Malick Mairaj Khalid, 20th June, 1974).

The above is a very realistic approach. Facts and failings have been accepted ; and justification, rationalisation and generalisation avoided. That is a good beginning and a healthy, promising sign.

The Beginning

The party was the hurried creation of swiftly changing political conditions in the country, during the last days of President Ayub Khan, precisely on 1st December, 1967. It was the product of the democratic-political process then set

in motion by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto (and others), and by historical necessity, opportunity and dynamism.

Naturally—or at least, understandably—much was done in a hurry. There was no time—what with the 1970 general elections, the 1971 war—and what followed—for the finesse and precision required for party manifestos, programmes and organisation. Whatever was eager and available, was accepted, including a motley leadership—except the Chief--and a rabid following. The important thing was to sweep the polls. And that is what the party manifesto, programme, organisation and pledges were essentially geared to. They served their immediate objective and short-term purpose, alright. In fact, most successfully. But for that very reason, they are already outdated today. They were not set in a long range, practicable and realistic perspective and grand strategy and design. The slogans were sentimental, catchy and contagious. But they were far too unrealistic, ambitious and promissory to be true. As a critic, political analyst and commentator has said: "The P. P. P. promised different things to different peoples ; too many things to too many people and everything to everybody." Its "credo" was, (—to quote Mr. Z. A. Bhutto : "The Great Tragedy", page 8-footnote (2)) :—

"Islam Is Our Faith
Democracy Is Our Polity
Socialism Is Our Economy
All Power To the People."

Its slogan was : Islamic Socialism, granting 'roti, kapra and makaan' (or food, clothing and shelter) to one and all.

No one from among the people seriously bothered to question or answer as to what was meant by the key expressions: Islam, democracy and socialism ; polity and economy ; people and power. No one wondered whether it was within the resources of the country (or party !) to provide food, clothing and shelter to everybody. The intelligentsia simply

debated the theoretical aspects of the irreconcilability of Islam and Socialism. So much so that it became a popular fad and pastime.

The Result

The result was a popular mass movement in Pakistan and the resurgence of democracy manifesting itself in the ouster of Ayub Khan, among other things. Credit goes to the ruling party, and its Chief, above all, for this democratic renaissance in the country.

The Situation Today

We have also managed to survive the traumatic tragedy of the debacle, dismemberment and defeat of 1971. And to pull ourselves together and even forge ahead, somewhat. But there has been no end to our problems, also, e.g. the floods, the present energy crisis and the price hikes. In short, the reality of national challenges and of existence has overtaken the myth of election-time manifestos and pledges, and electioneering stunts and slogans. The party—and Pakistan—are as distant from Islamic Socialism as they are from Islam, Socialism and Islamic or Western democracy. What we have today is a bewildered (though buoyant ?) Pakistan and a dated party of contending, confused and confusing individuals, forces and cliques pulling in different directions, chiefly : (i) Self-centred and power-hungry ; (ii) rightist: and (iii) so-called leftist.

The Need Of The Hour

How can such a party be expected to lead the nation and to deliver the goods ? Since it is the ruling party today, the national stakes, fate and future are in the hands of the P.P.P. In order to acquit itself successfully of the task of nation-building that it has undertaken, it will have to reorganise itself thoroughly, from the roots to the shoots. For in its present form, it is just incapable of doing any good. The proposed reorganisation will have to be genuine and soul-

searching and not for show or as an eye-wash and face-lift. It will have to be : (i) ideological ; (ii) structural ; (iii) methodological and (iv) functional. It must be in letter and spirit, fact and deed, essence and soul, mentality and outlook, principles and values, objectives and aims, and above all, character and conduct. Only then will it be really successful. The people will not accept anything less. For they are no longer satisfied with empty promises and skilful speeches or debates. They want action and results. They are fully watchful and wary, wide-awake, politically conscious and critical, realistic and in search of the truth. They want democracy—political and economic, in action and not in promises. They are also fearful that the nation might sink with the ruling party, God forbid ! Therefore the inevitable need and compelling urgency of party reorganisation, in their opinion. Either the party mends its ways and reforms itself, or it is in for a tragic doom—no matter how much parried, delayed and put off. Since the party has come to stay—it seems—and the nation's fate appears to be inalienably linked with it—genuine reorganisation is essential.

Objectives Of Party Reorganisation

The following can be considered, among others, as the main objectives of reorganisation.

(*i*) **Self-Reformation** and Improvement, in the light of the experience gained so far, for sheer survival and self-preservation. As stated earlier, it seems difficult, if not impossible for the P.P.P. to last very long and be effective and successful, without reforming and reorganising itself. If it is managing to go on so far, that is because : (i) of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto ; (ii) it is in power ; (iii) there is no opposition worth its name. But the viability, credibility and popularity of the party cannot always to taken for granted. Its self-reformation must be thorough and complete. Only then will the party be in a position to serve the nation well, as suggested below.

(*ii*) In the larger **National Interest**, also, the ruling party must be sincerely willing to reorganise itself. It must learn to change with the times and grow with the nation. Accept healthy influences and creative criticism, and welcome constructive debate and wise participation, fresh blood and new ideas. Only then will it be able to do any good by the nation. One cannot serve a cause without being suitably trained, experienced and equipped, prepared and readied for it. Above all, one must have the courage of one's convictions, faith in one's mission, belief in the cause and the character to sacrifise and suffer for it.

Criteria Of Reorganisation

(i) Ideological Reformation

The time has come to rethink, redefine and reset the ideological foundations, motives, manifesto, emphasis, priorities and programmes of the party. To evaluate the pledges and promises of its slogans and creed or credo—in the light of: (i) experience ; (ii) the existing reality ; (iii) the National Ideology and (iv) Pakistan's needs and resources—human and material, agricultural and mineral.

Time has proved not a bit too soon that at least in the form that they are sometimes attempted to be presented, any dove-tailing of Islam and Socialism is neither acceptable to the people nor the rightist intelligentsia and educated. So why to indulge in a nationally divisive or at least frustrating debate ? The splinter-effects can be quite damaging. In fact, the secret of the party's survival and success lies primarily, if not entirely, in its ideological reformation and reorganisation. It must totally reinterpret, revise and recast its ideological aims and objectives, foundations and bearings, line and direction, thinking, approach and modus operandi.

Even outside the country, Islamic Socialism has been regarded as something suspect, both by the socialists and the capitalists. The former do not find it materialistic and scientific enough for their liking. The latter have always been

sceptical of Islam—or of any religion, for that matter, including their own, since long. They view Islamic Socialism as a clever attempt to woo the socialist camp.

So long as Islam remains the religion of the Pakistani people, materialistic, scientific and Godless socialism has no place in this country. Th masses believe that the ideology of Pakistan is a long-settled issue since the historical, pre-partition days of the Two Nation Theory and the Freedom Movement. To agitate it again is to question the very raison d'etre and shake the very foundations of Pakistan. The Ideology of Pakistan is the Islamic Ideology or Islam itself—modern, democratic, enlightened, egalitarian, progressive, reformative and peaceful. It prescribes Islamic Democracy for the achievement of the Islamic Welfare State. Contrary to the common but misleading Western belief, Islam upholds enlightened secularism ; and is against professional Mullaism ; asceticism, hermitage and escapism from one's worldly duties. It prescribes moderation and tolerance, peaceful co-existence, the golden mean and the middle path in all matters.

In view of the foregoing, the closer the ruling party remains to Pakistan's original National Ideology in reinterpreting its own ideological objectives, criteria, principles, working methods and modes of action, the safer and saner for it. This should be its new strategy of reform and these, its tactics for survival. Otherwise a continuing confrontation with the National Ideology will only cause a colossal national collision and calamity. Let Pakistan's Islamic Ideology be the P.P.P.'s reformed ideology. This would not be swollowing the humble pie but having the grace, candour and wisdom to accept reality. A high powered Commission for Party and Ideological Reorganisation seems to be necessary. Among other things, it might try to adapt the law in Pakistan to the Islamic Law. **In brief, Islamic Socialism must be coupled with aud balanced by Islamic Democracy,** to restore the emphasis and equilibrium and **to resolve** the ideological debate for **good.**

(ii) Splinters: Reorganisation

In the light of the above ideological reformation, the party should resolve its inner ideational divisions and differences, and sort out the dissensions between the splitting groups. Structural reorganisation to cement the splinters along ideological lines is an absolute must for the survival of the party, or it might burst at the seams one day. The P.P.P. will have to make up its mind on the ideological issue—and then resolve the disagreements between its rightists, leftists and opportunists, on the basis of this fundamental decision. The personal feuds and in-fighting within the party have also to be sorted out.

Principles of Reorganisation

(i) National Service

The main aim and object of the party should be to serve the nation above self, always. National integration should be its sworn objective. Democratic principles, ideals, practices, traditions and institutions should be fostered. Petty politics—personal, party and parochial, has to be discouraged. Selfless and dedicated service to the nation, alone, can produce results and lend credibility to the professions and claims of the ruling party.

(ii) Action And Results

People are fed up of empty slogans and barren promises. They don't care much for high-sounding ideological speeches. Instead, they want action and results and the implementation of 'ways of life'. It is useless for leaders and parties to hide behind over-inflated publicity, ideological labels and slogans, creeds and credos—Islamic, democratic or socialistic. They are now judged only by their (and their families', relatives' and friends') deeds and misdeeds, actions and failings—both public and political, personal and private.

(iii) Personal Example

It is not enough for any leader to simply indulge in oratory and showmanship. It is his personal, living example—

his conduct and character, which counts. Not his definition and interpretation of socialism – or Islam, for that matter. I have no business to prescribe austerity, integrity, simplicity, honesty, industry and nationalism, etc., etc., to others, if I don't try to **practise** these myself in my own humble life, way and limited capacity. The P.P.P.'s general rank and file—with a few notable exceptions, perhaps—have very badly exposed themselves in such a short time, so as to make a mockery of both Islam and socialism. The fault lies not with these ideologies—but with their detractors in deed. Their scandalous misdeeds are common talk of the whole country. Perhaps there's little redemption left for them now.

(iv) True Talent

The party very badly needs sincere and devoted workers, organisers and future leaders. It should build up a "Talent Pool" and "Brains Trust", from all important walks of national life, notably the intellectuals and intelligentsia; economists, ideologists, educators, students, scientists and experts in different fields including international relations, defence and strategy. It also needs a built-in "Opposition" of critics to act as its own watch-dog and conscience.

(v) Democratic Traditions

It is possible to attract the intelligentsia only by democratic means. Those who are lured, bought or bribed, coerced or pressurised into submission, are either not worth their salt or they cannot give their best. For no convictions are at play. Those that existed, were done away with through graft and pressure.

The party can grow and prosper only if it builds up a real reputation of genuine respect for the democratic way of life. It must evolve a democratic system of its own and democratic traditions which will guide it wisely from day to day, problem to problem, crisis to crisis, and success to success. It must be convincing, peaceful and persuasive rather than penal, militant

and punitive in its approach and action. Merit and talent must always be acknowledged, recognized and rewarded. Not thwarted and frustrated. Individuality respected. If someone wants to remain non-aligned, uncommitted or out of the party fold, he should not be harmed. Likewise, the Opposition needs to be given its due. Democratic rules of the political game be evolved, to coexist peacefully with it.

(vi) Purges and Screening

A built-in system to ensure party discipline will need to be devised. Not to crush independence and free thinking. But to sort out the opportunists, riff-raff and dead-wood. Those who give a bad name to their party by their misdeeds, including inefficiency, failure, corruption, victimisation, nepotism, favouritism and misuse of authority and position.

(vii) A Reformed Mentality

Some of the party personnel of all grades and status have e tablished a reputation for 'inaccessibility'. They behave like feudal lords, mediaeval kings and colonial masters of yore. Like the nouveau riche, they are uppish, frivolous, arrogant and offensive. Some of them hide behind their bureaucratic patrons, proteges or underdogs, as the case might be. They are more bureaucratic than the bureaucrats themselves. Many are far from being open-minded and large-hearted. Humility is, indeed, an extremely rare virtue in Pakistan — take any walk of life you like. They just cannot stand any difference of opinion, at all. The public and human relations of many are reported to be poor.

Their whole mentality has to be reformed in practice and way of life and not just outwardly. They must set the example in being the true servants of the people and not a privileged, ruling class. If they want to remain in public office and be popular, they will have to take the lead in adopting the honest and industrious, simple and austere, devoutly nationalistic and Pakistani way of life.

(viii) Rules Of The Game

If national integration and cohesion, peace, progress and prosperity within the country and peace outside, is the objective, then certain fundamental and internationally accepted rules of the political game—within the party and without—will have to be evolved. Respect for the truth and for honesty, for the fundamental rights, democracy, the opposition, the federating units, and for peace, human values and mankind, above all, will have to be accepted as a matter of simple form and practice. No individual or party can be respected if it defies the human psyche and sensibility on the basic issues and principles of human nature and corporate living.

(ix) A Viable Opposition : Future Leadership

No leadership, no matter how brilliant, is ever-lasting—for the simple reason that it is human. The party has to ensure future leadership to the country by providing for it within itself as well as in the opposition. The best way to do so is to follow the objectives, criteria and principles already discussed.

(x) **Ideological Motivation** : must be ensured at all levels and ideological subversion negated and annihilated. The party as well as the government would do well to have a strong **Ideological Motivation Cell** for this purpose. The greatest psy-war weapon for this purpose that we can wield is our religion. All the means and media of mass communication, education and inspiration, could come in handy for this. A future leadership is a must, for no existing leadership is eternal.

Conclusion

Instead of 'roti, kapra and makaan', according to some critics/cynics, the P.P.P. has given the nation : (i) a truncated country ; (ii) promises, pledges and slogans ; (iii) price hikes, shortages and fuel crisis ; (iv) licences and permits ; (v) Islamic Socialists—feudals, industrialists, bureaucrats, the party nouveau riche and toughs ; and (vi) ideological confusion.

On the positive side, the achievements are those of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto and not the party, which is his creature and stands or falls with him. This, of course, is an obviously unkind and exaggerated allegation.

Islam, on the other hand, gave us Pakistan. And Pakistan, it was promised, would ensure and safeguard Islam. Let no one rob the nation of its main and major, if not only, integrative force—if one cannot give anything good to it. But if P.P.P. reforms itself, it is still capable of doing much good, at least potentially. For that, Pakistan's original and creative Islamic Ideology needs to be rediscovered, understood and reinterpreted fully and properly—as a progressive, reformative and modern force, ideology and way of national life and not just a religion for private or social use. It is quite possible for Pakistan to retain and uphold in practice its ideological identity as a Muslim state and remain peaceful, friendly and cooperative with all other ideologies and systems. For peaceful co-existence is the only way to ensure the world's survival. But to be truly ideological, Pakistan will have to translate and apply the Islamic tenets and principles, in spirit and deed, to all walks of life—personal and social, political and economic, legal and judicial, administrative, executive and legislative, national and international. Could the ruling party take the lead in this ? Has it the caliber and ability to ? If it has and does so, it will ensure not only its own survival but that of the nation, too. Islam is our main integrative force and factor. A whole ideology and system can be evolved from it. Party reorganisation on the suggested ideological lines before the next national elections would be the first step in that direction. If the party wants to sweep the polls next time, such a reorganisation would appear to be inevitable.

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An Ideological Bureaucracy For Pakistan

An Ideological Bureaucracy For Pakistan

The Historical Reality

Pakistan inherited an efficient, effective and powerful bureaucracy—both civil and military, at partition-time. But it was, none-the-less, a colonial bureaucracy, much used to toeing the line, taking orders and delivering the goods. It may not have been mercenary ; but it was certainly opportunistic. Having long served the British as the under-dog, it was always itching for power and authority, partly to have it back on history and partly to do some good but largely to enjoy power for the sake of power and all that it meant and stood for. The doing of good was largely incidental to the then maintenance of law and order concept of legally constituted and delegated authority. Because the bureaucracy was always itching for power, in its heart of hearts, it silently waited and manoeuvered its turn in the political chess-games and gambles then going on, in the wings, like an adept opportunist. When history and

events provided it the chance, it grabbed political power avariciously and set up itself as the ruler and not the server. A new genre was added to the swelling ranks of the robber-barons of this country.

But the sun was already setting on the British Empire. The Second World War had ended. Democratic precepts and principles were re-emerging. Colonialism, long since on its last legs, was fast tottering and tumbling down like the fabled Humpty-Dumpty. The mid-twentieth century concept of the bureaucratic role was a welfare-democratic-social service one. The colonial concepts were anachronistic. Equally outdated were such bureaucrats. It was an age of the servants of the people, not kings and masters.

The Pakistani bureaucracy found itself in this traumatic dilemma and revolutionary situation. But in the absence of democratic institutions, traditions, practices, checks and balances, it managed to rule the roost for decades. Not only did it influence or even dictate policy and played the role of the king-maker, it also emerged as the king indeed, in the guise of Ghulam Mohammad, Noon and Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, etc. The dated and outmoded colonial concepts, red-tape and bureaucratism, therefore, prospered, much to Pakistan's misfortune.

The Situation Today

It was found necessary to remedy this situation occasionally, with : (i) half-hearted and skin-deep administrative reforms ; (ii) moody purges ; and lately (iii) lateral entry and personal staffing. The result of these (well-intended ?) measures has been disappointing, on the whole. Because the reforms were only functional and not fundamental, structural and not deep-rooted, the viciously idle, ruler-bureaucratic mentality and attitudes—which are the crux of the problem—remain unchanged. The nouveau bureaucrats, like the nouveau riche, are more royal than royalty itself. Exceptions are, of course, always there. But the general impression seems to

be that they are untutored, uncouth and inefficient—though basically and formally quite intelligent, qualified and educated. That is because many are alleged to have been selected on the basis of political or personal connections, pulls, strings and pressures, rather than merit. It is one thing to hand-pick or personally-staff individuals on merit ; it is quite another to induct them for other less deserving considerations. What is worse is, having once got the chair of bureaucratic authority and nuisance value, they are not quite willing to learn, improve, pick up things and work the hard way. Occasionally they use their existing positions as a spring board for improved prospects elsewhere. Their targets are set. They are often busy lobbying and fishing for political spoils. Perhaps the American spoils system could not be taken to a worse back-door denouement. Many are described by some as grabbers and sycophants par excellence.

In such an atmosphere of unpredictable, frequent and occasionally unprovoked purges, the career bureaucrats feel more and more uncertain and insecure. That is bound to make them opportunistic. Their main, if not only, interest is to secure their job for as long as possible. It is a fact that because many meritorious individuals who had the courage of their convictions and the character to differ, were screened out, principles, values, ideals and causes have largely become a matter of the past. Honesty of purpose and the quality of work are bound to suffer, as a consequence.

Another perplexing phenomenon is to re-employ people once sacked. The self-contradiction is so apparent that it needs no comment. If they are good, why oust them, in the first instance ; if not, why bring them back and so soon after their initial ouster ? Outwardly, the matter seems to be as simple as that. But perhaps there's more to it than meets the eye. The reasons may be in political psychology, teaching lessons and demonstration effects, and not personal or connected with merit and efficiency. Even so, they entail much undemocratic heart-burn, bickering, gossip and uncertainty—

and may even, ultimately, defeat their own object. Additionally, such resurgers are also alleged to be opportunistic—and with a vengeance—in a few instances.

One more direct result of these so-called administrative reforms is that two parallel, sceptical and indifferent, if not opposed to or critical of each other, cadres of bureaucrats are created. By aptitude and attitude, training and grooming, they are pulling in different directions—both selfish and egocentric. The really 'good uns' are becoming a rare species, shelled and cloistered, as an island unto themselves. For the rest, it appears to be a free-for-all scramble for spoils.

Perhaps I have exaggerated the situation a little, for argument and effect. But in such generally chaotic, if not anarchic, conditions, the standards of efficiency, dedication and selfless service are bound to get a staggering blow. For only the names, numbers and labels have changed; the spirit has sunk, the structure sagged and the standards deteriorated. But the ghost of bureacratism is extant and rules the roost, Generally.

The Fact

The fact of the matter is that today's hybrid bureaucracy is as alien and unsuited to Pakistan as was yesterday's tradition-bound, strait-jacketed, poker-faced, haw-haw type of the conventional bureaucracy.

Another more important fact is that in the last quarter of this century, the concept of an apolitical national (not alien) bureaucracy is a dated myth. And above all, such a concept is ill-suited to the ideals and objectives, needs and requirements, of a progressive, enlightened and democratic, nationalist, peoples' state and government.

Pakistan's bureaucrat—civilian and of the armed forces—with all his faults—is neither an alien coloniser nor a mercenary empire-builder. He is of this soil and is entirely dedicated to it. He cannot, therefore, be expected to just stand by and watch. Whatever his political beliefs and views—democratic,

socialistic or Islamic—he is a nationalist. Being of this nation, he is bound to think of and feel for what is happening in and to the country and around it. He most certainly has his political opinions, despite all the outdated and restrictive service rules and bindings, traditions and practices. That is all too natural and understandable. In fact, a persistent tradition since partition has been that the bureaucrat has dabbled in active party politics. That was the bane and the irony of the situation.

While going to that extreme is undesirable, it has to be accepted as a fact, realistically and wisely, that the Pakistani bureaucrat is a Pakistani, a national, a human, social and political being. He is not here to rule but to serve. As such, he has his own views on politics—national and international—as he has on life and its various aspects, issues, problems and interests—whether overt or covert.

The Way Out

The way out of this situation wherein the Pakistani bureaucracy has been politicised over the decades, is to accept this fact as something historical, healthy, valid and justified—or at least, understandable. And then, to put it to creative use for the national good.

A Political Bureaucracy

Let us remember that politics, at their best and in essence, are good citizenship for the average national. To be politically conscious is to be a conscientious citizen, aware of one's duties, responsibilities and obligations as of one's rights and privileges. A bureaucrat, by virtue of his role, functions and duties, is expected to be an even more conscientious and responsible citizen. All the more reason that he should be better equipped and trained for this role. That includes political education and citizenship, inculcating the civic sense and nationalistic motivation of the highest order. Therefore, the ripe time for and need of a political bureaucracy in Pakistan—**now**. And this is the time, moment and occasion.

I have used the term Political Bureaucracy in two broad senses :

(*i*) **Ideological Bureaucracy :** An ideologically inspired, nationally motivated, service and welfare-oriented, nationalistic, responsible and answerable, selfless and dedicated bureaucracy. **Free** to hold and express its political views. **Within** the overall, larger national interests and ideology and **without** indulging in active or party politics. The National Ideology will, of course, be—and is—**the** Islamic Ideology of Pakistan, upholding Islamic Secularism, Islamic Democracy, Islamic Socialism and the Islamic Welfare State—through Islamic renaissance and revivalism and by reinterpreting Islamic thought to solve our present problems and serve our existing and anticipated needs, requirements and circumstances.

One fruitful form of expressing its views is through papers, articles and studies for the government in order to keep it informed of experiences and experiments, thoughts, observations, trends, currents and cross-currents in national thinking and behaviour. Another, a free, unbiased and responsible press. A third, the pulpit—at seminars, symposia and panel discussions, etc.

Such mature, responsible and nationalistic 'permissiveness' (—if I might use the expression to improve it !—) in this sector of an Ideological Bureaucracy would be for the majority of bureaucrats. But on the express understanding that this political activity will be strictly intellectual and academic. And not personal, parochial, partisan or petty, in any way at all. There will be no such narrow commitments and loyalties. They (the bureaucrats) will remain strictly detached from and non-aligned to these restrictive tendencies. Their one, only and supreme loyalty will be to the country, nation and its Ideology. And to the highest ideals, values and principles that they stand for. Their partisan political view, if any, at all, will not affect their sense and discharge of duty.

Such enlightened and enriched political education will provide, over the years, sound training to the relatively junior bureaucrats for higher responsibility.

(*ii*) **Party Political Bureaucracy :** The second, minority group of a strictly and actively **Political Bureaucracy** can man policy-oriented key positions, on a contractual basis, during the tenure of a particular party government—in order to carry out and implement its programme successfully Such bureaucrats and technocrats must be experts in Pakistan Studies, national affairs and Ideology, administration, economics, international relations and politics. They can be chosen by the ruling party from the existing majority cadres of career Ideological Bureaucrats discussed earlier, or from the ruling party —which would then need to have a built-in system of selecting, training and turning out such expert and experienced personnel. Or from the open market—or from all the sources. But for any party to provide such expertise, there will be the urgent need and pre-requirement not only for grass-roots and ideological party reorganization, but also for redefining the nature, role and structure of party politics and party government in Pakistan. One of the essentials is a democratic, bi-or tri-party system.

It will, of course, have to be ensured that there is no victimisation, favouritism or nepotism of any kind, at all, in the working of the suggested system. And that the two cadres of the proposed political (and not apolitical) bureaucracy— (*i*) **The Ideological Bureaucracy**, and (*ii*) **The Party Political Bureaucracy**, do not clash but support, supplement and feed-back each other in terms of throwing up ideas and providing research studies, schemes, plans, and projects—and in co-operation to implement them, when accepted.

Conclusion

So far as its bureaucracy goes, Pakistan's main problem is that it is uninspired, shaken, confused, anachronistic and generally in a mess. Of course, it is obvious that as an arm,

instrument and agent of the government, the solution does not lie in killing or annihilating it. But in deep-rooted, ideational and motivational—even spiritual—reforms—or transformation—to change its very mentality, psyche, values, essence, spirit, nature and character, thoroughly. And that means, laying the foundations of a wide-awake and alert, conscientious, ideologically inspired and nationalistically motivated, committed and dedicated Ideological Bureaucracy.

A New Manifesto For The P.P.P.

A New Manifesto For The P.P.P.

(A Suggested Draft for Consideration)

Al-Quran

"And those who respond to their Lord and keep up prayer, and their rule is to **take counsel** among themselves" ; and :

"Therefore, forgive and ask for pardon for them, and **consult** them in the affairs".

(42 ; verse 38 and 3 ; verse 159).

"Verily we have made you into tribes and sub-tribes so that you may be identified, but the best among you in the eye of God is he who is the purest in life". (49 ; verse 13)

I

The Holy Prophet Muhammad Of Islam

{ May Eternal Peace and Blessings Be Upon Him and His Noble Soul ! Amin ! }

"Difference of opinion in my community is (the manifestation of Divine) Mercy".

"My community would never agree on an error".

"Our decisions must be guided by counsel and consent".

A New Manifesto for the P.P.P.

I

Introduction : The Necessity

"Thirteen hundred years ago he laid the foundations of democracy......The Prophet was a great teacher. He was a great law-giver. He was a great statesman and he was a great sovereign who ruled." (The Quaid-i-Azam : Address to the Bar, Karachi, January 25, 1948).

By its very nature and purpose, a manifesto—any manifesto—is, essentially, a declaration of intent, ideals and broad policy, only. At best, it is a blue-print for sincere and scientific action. No more. But it is neither intended to be, nor, indeed, can it ever be, an economic plan to be executed according to a set model. That is why, as an ideal, there is, in all good faith, much that is promissory in a manifesto. Therefore, it should be judged in a larger perspective and evaluated in the time-span of history. This is neither to cond-

one inaction nor to pardon the impracticable. But only to suggest that history both judges and indulges manifestos.

Just as manifestos lack the relative exactitude of economic plans, they do not have the philosophic, spiritual or metaphysical veracity of revealed books and holy scriptures. This human fallibility renders them open to scrutiny and suggestion, constant review and improvement—which is their built-in safety valve and blessing. They are thus spared the curse of death through frigidity and fossilisation.

The P.P.P. has come a long way since its formation in November-December, 1967. It has gained much in political experience and insight; the fruit of which is political wisdom. The compulsions of wisdom are manifest in eternal self-vigilance, reform and progress. And therefore the necessity, through reappraisal and reevaluation, of a broader and profounder party manifesto in tune with the dictates of the times and our national interests; which do and must always remain supreme. It can readily, humbly and gracefully be conceded that, in all honesty, the initial manifesto of the P.P.P. was basically an election-manifesto, with the usual failings and strong points of such a manifesto. In other words, it was something interim and provisional, short-spanned and limited. This is one more good reason to substitute it with a more lasting document which, none-the-less, preserves the spirit of the original, archetypal, philosophic and motivational pattern. It is also a good occasion to clear up the prevalent misunderstandings about the P.P.P (Party reorganisation from the grass-roots should follow any New Manifesto as a matter of course).

Even so, despite all these vaulting intentions, this is going to be a brief document. For it is, to reiterate, not to be a detailed plan, but only a draft of a summary enumeration of suggestive major objectives and ideals.

Finally, this new/revised manifesto is in deference to the dictates of realism and credibility and in the large and lasting national interest. As such, it is a sincere exercise in promoting

national goodwill and understanding, detente and peaceful coexistence and cooperation, in the service of Pakistan. Above all, it is sincerely hoped that it will, as a 'compromise formula' firmly based on sound principles and national interests, put an end to the decade's-old ideological debate going on in Pakistan.

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II

IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

An Islamic Welfare State

"Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct in even politics and economics and the like. It is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fair play and justice for all ... The qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam"........ (The Quaid-i Azam : Address to the Karachi Bar ; January 25, 1948).

Ideologically, the P.P.P. seams to have been both much misunderstood and maligned for long. This is bad, both for the party itself and for national politics. It is, therefore, considered necessary to clear up the cobwebs before more harm is done and well before the next general elections, as election-time is always a time for the framing of issues and ideas, objectives and ideals, goals and targets.

Therefore, let it be clarified once for all that the P.P.P. had never intended to depart from or even tinker with the original Islamic Ideology of Pakistan, which created this nation-state and still sustains it. There was no conspiracy to foist an alien ideology or graft a hybrid political system on Pakistan. Indeed, it was a spirited attempt to interpret Pakistan's creative ideology in socio-political and economic terms and programmes.

The P.P.P. believes that **the Ideology of Pakistan is Islamic**—indeed, it is **Islam**, itself, pure and simple. Islam, which has

taught mankind brotherhood and fraternity, truth, justice, equality, love, freedom and liberty. It preaches peace and peaceful, progressive and creative evolution, change, reform, progress and transformation—and **NOT** bloody revolutions. And this is the faith, creed and Ideology of the P.P.P., as-well. But Islam, as the whole world knows so well, is not obscurantist, regressive or anachronistic. It is not "mullaism" or priesthood, asceticism or escapism, hermitage and recluseism. Islam is liberal and emancipated, modern and progressive, democratic and egalitarian, fraternal and brotherly, free and fearless; compassionate, humane, humanising and humanitarian. **Secularism** has been incorrectly translated into Urdu as 'Laadeeniat' **Secularism** (لادینیت)—**instead** of '*Dunyaviat*' 'دنیاویت'—to coin an expression. For Islam is a balance between 'Deen and Dunya' (دین اور دنیا)—i.e. religion and worldliness. Islam, in fact, is not just a religion, it is our supreme ideology and inspiration, a complete code of ethics and a comprehensive way of life, regulating all aspects of man's existence. It guides man on his relations with : (i) God ; (ii) fellow man ; and (iii) self. Rights are balanced with duties, demands with obligations. Islam preaches moderation, prescribes the just and balanced society, and points to the middle path and the golden mean in all matters. The distinction between the sacrosanct and secular, the spiritual and the mundane, is not antithetical, it is only classificatory and for convenient and ready referencing.

In view of the foregoing, the socialism of the P.P.P. is **NOT** materialistic, atheistic or agnostic. It is religious—it is Islamic, being firmly based on the principles of **Islamic Economics.** Similarly the democracy of the P.P.P. is **NOT** western or communistic—it is again, Islamic. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan—because it is Islamic—is **not** a theocracy. It is **secular in the Islamic sense.** That is exactly as Allama Muhammad Iqbal and the father of the Nation, the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had wished, declared and decreed. "The great majority of us are Muslims... . But make no mistake : Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it". (The Quaid-i-

Azam : Radio Talk, February 19, 1948). The state objective of the P.P.P. is the political motive of Islam—an **Islamic Welfare State**—of peace and progress, prosperity and plenty. Islamic politics are those of **institutionalised** and peaceful cooperation and co-existence at home and abroad—and **NOT** of confrontation and conflict. All this has been ensured and writ into Pakistan's Constitution of 1973, alongwith the fundamental human rights, liberties and freedoms, and the rule of law. Of course, the Constitution being the product of human endeavour, is not perfect. That is why it is open to proper amendment and evolution through experience. **The National Islamic Ideological Council** headed by no less a person than Chief Justice (retired) Hamood Ur Rahman, is I should be charged with the task to **Islamise** the law and society of Pakistan, in the best and broadest sense. And to analyse, interpret and elaborate, in the light of Islam, the Holy Quran and Sunnah, key concepts like the Islamic Welfare State, Islamic Democracy, Islamic Socialism, Islamic Secularism, Islamic Nationalist Government and Islamic Nationalist Opposition. Also to translate them into policy-oriented programmes. A **Pakistan Ideological Cell or Centre** to ensure national motivation, ideological inspiration and national integration, and to combat the curse of parochialism and the politics of the petty and personal, the partisan and provincial, is/should also be on the anvil.

Just to clear the cob-webs of misunderstanding and to secure a better appreciation of the intentions and objectives of the P.P.P., its well-known four-fold motto has been made more comprehensive and is amplified as follows :

Old Motto	**Revised/New Motto**
Islam is our faith	Islam is our Inspiration and Ideology
Democracy is our polity	Our Faith, Religion and Way of Life
	Islamic Welfare State is our Objective
Socialism is our economy	Islamic Secularism is our Means
	Islamic Democracy is our Polity
All power to the people	Islamic Socialism is our Economy
	All power is of Allah

'Khilafat' ; 'Imamat' ; Sovereignty

Allah is the fountain, source and sustenance of all power, spiritual and secular, personal and political. Man is only His vicegerent on earth. Therefore all political institutions and activity, like all other human activity and institutions, are in the service of mankind and for the greater glory of God. **Sovereignty,** thus, belongs to the Almighty Allah. It is a Divine trust (or 'Amanat') delegated collectively to man as a sacred and shared responsibility to be exercised in the service of man and the glory of God, jointly by the 'Amir/Khalifa/ Imam', the people and their representatives.

If all this is not Islamic, what else is it ?

"Our Almighty has taught us that our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultation". (The Quaid-i-Azam Speech at Sibi Durbar, February 14, 1948).

III

ISLAMIC DEMOCRACY

('Musawaat-e-Muhammadi')

"Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles." (The Quaid-i-Azam : Speech, Sibi Durbar, February 14, 1948).

Western democracy being numerical, is also inclined to be quantitative. It is strengthened by political education, being secular. But the rights and duties of citizenship in Islam are not merely a manifestation of the civic sense and activity. They are sacred obligations and ethical responsibilities. Islamic Democracy is moral and qualitative, because :

(i) It is rule by the best.

'Imamat' 'Quiadat-E-Swaleheen' or 'Imarat-E-Mutaqeen'.

(ii) Rule of law ('Shariat' and 'Itaat' or 'Obedience') and by counsel and consent, concensus and cooperation, conciliation and compromise, ('Shura') emphasising

peace and brotherhood. It spurns the cut-throat competition of Western democracy ; and the politics of bloody revolutions, conflict and confrontation ('Shura').

(iii) **'Iqtisad'** : Rule by moderation based on noble principles, values and ideals.

(iv) Group or collective rule. ('Jamaat').

(v) Rule for the general good. ('Khair').

Islamic Nationalist Government

The best means the best in the very best sense—not just in the ruling or majority party, group or region—but in the entire nation. This necessitates the creation of an **Islamic Nationalist Government** consisting of the **best** in the whole country and from all national political parties (—and not parochial, provincial, regional or local)—and all walks of national life—based on merit -and merit, alone, and the highest national and human considerations. Unlike the usual western coalition government, which is a short-term weakling liaison of limited and narrow vested interests, the Islamic Nationalist Government is a sacred covenant of like-minded parties and individuals firmly united on the basis of lasting principles and national objectives. Such a government has the collective strength of all the coordinating parties as well as of the **cooperative opposition**. The **'Amir'** or head of the State/government in a revered father-image who has earned the sound and dependable respect and support of the entire nation, with his exemplary character and conduct and his endearing qualities of head and heart—of wisdom, benevolence, justice, generosity and magnanimity, above all. In Pakistan's case, the minimal yet major unifying factors are :

(i) Accepting Islam as Pakistan's national ideology and way of life—religiously, politically, economically, socially, legally and in all other realms of national and personal living. And Islam respects and guarantees all the fundamental human rights, liberties and freedoms, and the rule of law is an Islamic Welfare **State.**

(ii) The promotion of national interests through ideological inspiration, national motivation and national integration—and the positive repudiation of jingoism, sectarianism, parochialism and partisanism. The politics of confrontation must give way to creative cooperation and general goodwill at all levels.

(iii) In international relations, too, the coalescing parties must agree to promote detente and peaceful co-existence.

(iv) To ensure and safeguard, ever and always, the national security, integrity and sovereign independence of Pakistan.

(v) The parties must be truly national and nationalistic in every sense—i.e. national in their broad-base and membership as well as in inspiration and commitment.

Limited Party System

Since Islam prescribes the politics of **viable cooperation,** the logical corollary is a **limited party system**—precisely to ensure viability and fruitful cooperation. The multiple-party system is both the cause and curse of splinter and dissenting groups and in-fighting. Since Islam is opposed to extremism, the desirable number might be two or three **moderate parties**—(i) progressive or liberal, (ii) right wing and (iii) centre ; for numerical excess is also a kind of extremism—perhaps in weakness.

The uniting parties unified in the Islamic Nationalist Government will be offered cabinet seats in proportion to their overall national strength and ratio to the majority party.

The Opposition

Likewise, the (national) political parties will/can unite to form the **Islamic Nationalist Opposition,** which acts as the conscience, mentor and monitor of the government—essentially in the Islamic spirit of constructive criticism and creative cooperation.

Mr. Jinnah said that he did not expect that Pakistan would have one party government and that he would oppose one party rule. "An opposition party or parties are **good correctives** for any party which is in power", he said. (The Quaid-i-Azam to the APA Rep. ; November 8, 1945).

Though agreed on the basic principles of fundamental/ foundational national politics, it is natural for the various political parties to differ on the details of their programmes, plans, manifestos, timings and emphasis.

The Bureaucracy

A National Ideological Bureaucracy would seem to be a foregone conclusion and requirement in any truly ideological state, to execute and implement, dedicatedly and faithfully, the national policies and plans. "It is up to you now to act as **true servants of the people".** (The Quaid-i-Azam : Address to government servants. Chittagong, March 25, 1948).

The above are some of the landmarks of Islamic Democracy as understood by the P.P.P. Details need to be filled in under the guidance of the Pakistan National Ideological Council. Two major facts do, however, emerge from these :

(i) That the P.P.P. is sworn to only the Islamic version of democracy, in its dedication to Islam.

(ii) The idea of an Islamic Nationalist Government and the politics of cooperation is an open, large-hearted and broad-minded invitation to the present-day opposition in Pakistan to join hands with the government, on the basis of national principles and objectives, in the service of Pakistan.

True Federation

This is also in conformity with the true spirit of **federalism** for in a genuine **federation**, all the legitimate interests and rights of the federating units, as projected by the representative parties and institutions, are ensured. The result is a broad,

national basis of all political activity. An Islamic Nationalist Government is thus rooted in the fundamental principle of sharing political power and authority ; responsibilities and duties, obligations and commitments. It is a kind of division of political labour on democratic and federating principles.

IV

ISLAMIC SOCIALISM

('Ishtraquiat-e-Islami')

"Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic Socialism which emphasise equality and brotherhood of man." (The Quaid-e-Azam : Speech, Chittagong, March 26, 1948).

'Iqtisadiat'

It is for scholars and specialists, ideologists and experts to spell out the details of the economic system called Islamic Socialism or 'Iqtisadiat' firmly based on and derived from the fundamental principles of the economics of Islam. The Quaid-i-Azam himself had indicated that long ago. No doubt he had insisted : "The adoption of the Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concepts of equality of man and social justice." (—The Quaid-i-Azam's Inaugural Address at the State Bank of Pakistan, 1st March, 1948). But the interpretation of Islamic Economics was left by the Quaid-e-Azam to the experts. In an interview to the representatives of the APA on 8th November, 1945, the Quaid-i-Azam stated :

"Personally I believe that......essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the State. That also applies to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for the law makers to say, not for me."

Nationalisation

Nationalisation, in other words, is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end—the end—the common welfare of the people and general well-being of the masses, in a free, classless, fraternal and egalitarian society. Its validity and extent depend on national interests and compulsions.

None-the-less, the basic principles and objectives of Islamic Socialism, in which the nationalistic and welfare, altruistic and humanitarian motives predominate, as distinct from the purely economic incentives of capitalism, and which are based on Islamic Economics, can be summed up as follows:

(i) The creation of an **Islamic Welfare State,** ensuring uniform and equitable **economic democracy** and distributive justice all over the country, as much as **political democracy,** and all the fundamental economic rights and liberties like the basic socio-political, religious and personal rights and freedoms.

(ii) Ensuring the basic necessities, social securities and services and the essentials of life—in cash and/or kind, as far as the national means and resources permit. These include food, clothing and shelter (or **'roti, kapra aur makaan'**). But the principles of simplicity, economy and austerity and of dedicated and responsible citizenship—of simple living and noble thinking and action—cannot be forgotten.

(iii) Dedication to the ideals of a moderate and balanced, just, free, and fair classless society based on the principles of Islamic economic justice, equality of opportunity and egalitarianism.

(iv) Production may be competitive, with adequate incentives provided, to ensure the best results. But distribution has to be widespread and nationally shared, in order to be fair.

(v) The fundamental principle of moderation demands clear-cut constraints, and even a ban on excessive,

exploitative and dehumanising private enterprise, personal property, possessions, hoarding, usury, materialism, mammonism, avarice and greed.

(vi) All natural and human resources are blessing from God to man, meant for all and not just a few. Their nationalisation for the common good, is justified. But, as stated earlier, nationalisation is only a means, not an end in itself.

(vii) All economic activity must be peaceful and cooperative, progressive, productive and prosperous, promoting the best possible relations and camaraderie between the labour and the capital. The interest of the labour —as of all the sections of society involved, must the fully respected and protected,

Economic Policy And Planning Commission

The above are only indices and pointers. **A National Economic Policy and Legislative/Advisory/Consultative Commission** would be necessary to advise on the following, in line with the tenets of the Islamic economic theory :

(i) Economic policy.

(ii) Economic planning, and models.

(iii) Taxation policy and principles, law, organisation, system, administration and practices.

(iv) Monetary and fiscal policy and planning and public finance.

(v) Industrial policy and planning.

(vi) Agricultural policy and planning.

(vii) Mineral policy and planning.

(viii) Manpower, population and demographic policy and planning.

What has been said of Islamic Socialism is essentially in the nature of idealism. The point to remember is that it is ideals which have to be translated into action by giving them

a practicable form in terms of system, policy, principles, programmes, planning and then, implementation—over a reasonable period of time, determined scientifically with reference to the available resources and essential requirements.

V

THE JUST ISLAMIC SOCIETY

"The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed......I am sure that it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fair-play to everybody". (—The Quaid-i-Azam : Radio Broadcast Talk, February, 1948).

The Pakistani society must be founded and nurtured on the Islamic social framework, law and jurisprudence—which vouch for a just and fair, free and fearless, democratic and egalitarian classless society of our dreams and ideals. It is a moral and ethical society ; a progressive and prosperous society ; a liberal and emancipated society ; a humane and humanitarian society : above all, a God-fearing and God-loving society of human brotherhood and fraternity. It is a constitutional and law-respecting society. Progressive and continuous self-review and reformation in all walks of national life are its singular hall-mark. It is disciplined and dedicated ; inspired by the noblest ideals and motivated by the highest human principles and values.

Educational Policy

Education in such a society is also inspired ideologically. It is guided by the following founding principles :

(i) Islam and Pakistan's national ideology.

(ii) Enlightened national interest and requirements.

(iii) It is moral and ethical ; humanitarian and cultural ; knowledgeable and scientific ; idealistic and value-oriented.

(iv) It is also material and utilitarian ; purposive and productive ; fruitful, futuristic and progressive.

(v) It promotes general good-will, unity and peace at home and abroad.

"Education does not merely mean academic education...... What we have to do is to mobilise our people and build up the character of our future generations......Greater attention should be paid to technical and vocational education. In short, we have to build the character of our future generations, which means highest sense of honour, integrity, selfless service to the nation and sense of responsibility, and we have to see that they are fully qualified and equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan". (—The Quaid-i-Azam : Message to the All Pakistan Education Conference, Karachi, 27th November, 1947).

In a word, such an Islamic society is peaceful, progressive, free, fraternal, egalitarian and democratic. Therefore, it is blessed.

"Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture andcivilisation. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in the sub-continent". (—The Quaid-i-Azam, Speech, Chittagong, 26th March, 1948).

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VI

FOREIGN POLICY

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and good-will towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation......Pakistan will never

be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations' Charter". (The Quaid-i-Azam : Radio Pakistan ; Feb. 1948).

Peace And Brotherhood

Islam is, quintessentially, a religion of universal peace and brotherhood. Pakistan's foreign policy is therefore, quite naturally inspired by this great religion of the world. Its foundational principles are :

Basic Principles

(i) Global detente and peaceful co-existence.

(ii) Regional and local peace and good-neighbourliness.

(iii) The U.N. Charter.

(iv) The Bandung Principles.

(v) Muslim Brotherhood.

(vi) Afro-Asian and Third World Fraternity.

(vii) Independence in international relations.

(viii) Opposing nuclear proliferation and the arms race.

(ix) Atoms for peace, progress and prosperity, alone.

(x) Internationalism, bilateralism and regionalism, to negate the balance of terror and to ensure a viable and lasting balance of peace—within the framework of a futuristic, forward-looking, realistic, pragmatic and independent foreign policy.

(xi) National Independence and Sovereignty and enlightened national interest.

(xii) Amicable, honourable, and just solution of the Kashmir and other issues with India.

"I want to make it quite clear that Pakistan will never surrender and never agree in any shape or form to any constitutional union between the two sovereign states, (India and Pakistan) with one common centre". (—The Ouaid-i-Azam : Interview to the Reuters Correspondent, 25th October, 1947).

VII

NATIONAL SECURITY

"In this machine age when the misdirected genius of man forges new engines of destruction every day, you have to keep abreast of the times and keep your knowledge and equipment up-to-date—not because we have evil designs against any of our neighbours but because our own security demands that we should not be caught unawares." (—The Quaid-i-Azam : Addressed to the Armed Forces, Malir, Karachi, 21st February, 1948).

"While giving the fullest support to the principles of the United Nations' Charter, we cannot afford to neglect our defences. However strong the UNO might be, the primary responsibility for the defence of our country will rest with us and Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and the defenceless, in this imperfect world, invite aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak, and therefore, they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so that strong nobody dare entertain any aggressive designs against us......You will have to make up for the smallness of your size by your courage and selfless devotion to duty, for it is not life that matters but the courage and determinatien you bring in it". (The Quaid-i-Azam : Address to H.M.P.S. 'Dilawar', 23rd January, 1948).

Defence Policy

The moving spirit of Pakistan's defence policy emerges from the following mainsprings :

(i) Detente and peaceful co-existence—universal and regional. The maintenance of a just and secure balance of peace and power.

(ii) Enlightened national interest and national power based on the elements of sea, land and air power.

(iii) National self-defence in an age of the arms race and region of nuclear proliferation.

(iv) Pakistan's geo-political compulsions and geo-strategic constraints.

(v) National security, severeignty and independence.

(vi) National unity, integration, consolidation and cohesion, for national security/defence and national integration are complementary and supplementary.

"Nature's inexorable law is 'the survival of the fittest' and we have to prove ourselves fit for our newly won freedom. You have fought many a battle on the far-flung battle-fields of the globe to rid the world of the Fascist menace and to make it safe for democracy. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of **Islamic democracy,** Islamic social justice and the equality of mankind in your own native soil. You will have to be alert, very alert, for the time for relaxation is not yet there. With faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worth-while that you cannot achieve." (The Quaid-i-Azam. Address to the Armed Forces, Malir, Karachi, 21st February, 1948).

VIII

RESUME

"Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is the **people's government** responsible to the people......Now that impression of arrogance must go... Wipe off that past reputation ; you are not rulers......Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honour, integrity, justice and fair-play ......You must do your duty as servants......to act as true servants of the people." (The Quaid-i-Azam : Address to the Goverment Gazetted Officers, Chittagong, 25th March, 1949).

Throughout this document we have quoted copiously from the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Father of the Nation, just to establish that he remains our father-image and the proverbial friend, philosopher and guide of the nation. Like him, we, too, are inspired by Islam and Islam, alone. **The Quaid-i-Azam himself believed in Islamic Secularism and made the first clarion call for Islamic Democracy and Islamic Socialism in a truely Islamic Welfare State.** His slogan is Pakistan's motto : Unity, Faith and Discipline. That is our motto and guiding principles, too.

It is in the spirit of national unity and discipline, and in all goodwill and faith, that the P.P.P. hand of friendship is being extended to the opposition in Pakistan to join it wholeheartedly in an Islamic Nationalist Government, and strive for the just, free and fair society and nation of 'Momins' or 'Millat' and country (or 'Mulk') of our nationally collective dreams and aspirations, in the larger and lasting service of Pakistan This is the first major step forward in that direction. This manifesto—this open declaration of the P.P.P. intentions and ideals—is solid proof of that. It is earnestly hoped and prayed that the opposition will respond with like spirit, sincerity and fervour. Only then—unitedly and peacefully—can we Pakistanis, as brothers in faith and religion, creed and conviction, commitment and compatriotism, really build up an

independent, ever-lasting, strong, progressive, and prosperous Pakistan, which the Quaid-i-Azam had envisioned for our future generations and progeny. Only then can we ensure and institutionalise Islamic **economic** and **political** Democracy and Socialism and make them a distinct part of our proud heritage and traditions, precepts and practices, conventions and convictions, faith and belief, (for Islamic Socialism and Islamic Democracy are basically the two fundamental aspects of the same ideological system, Islam, one emphasising its socio-political and the other, its economic factors).

Finally, among other things, it is once again hoped that this proposed draft manifesto will set the ideological debate at rest for good.

"It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam". (The Quaid-i-Azam : Speech at the Sibi Durbar, 14th February, 1948).

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Mahan And His Contemporary Relevance To Pakistan

Mahan And His Contemporary Relevance To Pakistan

Introduction

Imaginative researches like Robert E. Walters, "The Nuclear Trap : An Escape Route", (a Pelican Book, 1974), favouring some classical ideas of the sea strategists as against the land strategists, call for a fresh comparative study of epoch-makers like Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914) and Sir John Halford Mackinder (1874-1947), especially as they affect the contemporary global situation. Such researches and studies have no less validity for small but strategic states like Pakistan. Let us try to evaluate, as briefly as possible, Mahan's relevance to Pakistan, especially in view of its altered geo-political position and strategic compulsions after 1971, and the factual menace of India's nuclear expansionism.

Of Robert Walters And The Nuclear Trap

Mahan's relevance to Pakistan will be better highlighted by his broader and general relevance to today's ever-shrinking

nuclear world—so vividly portrayed by Robert E. Walters. To quote his publishers :

> "In this important reappraisal of contemporary strategic thinking, Robert Walters demolishes the famous geo-political concept which dubbed Russia and Siberia as 'Heartland'—the unassailable land fortress ef the world. What was true for Sir Halford Mackinder in 1904, he argues, is no longer true now that a nuclear-powered submarine has circumnavigated the Arctic Ocean beneath the ice'.
>
> "This obsession with Heartland has given impetus to Western stock-piling of atomic weapons and the perfection of ICBMS—missiles designed to threaten an otherwise unapproachable area. These and the idea of the nuclear deterrent, are now obsolescent, he declares'.
>
> "In place of a static, destructive age of nuclear war Robert Walters forecasts a resurgence of sea-power based on nuclear-powered under-sea ships of unlimited range, carrying cargo, oil, weapons or troops—an age in which the Arctic Ocean becomes the Mediterranean of the world".

In short, the point that Robert Walter has driven home is that the nuclear age has restored to it, the strategic importance of the sea and sea-power ; just as long-range air-craft has made any land-based target within reach and vulnerable.

Basic Contention

My basic thesis or contention is as follows :

(i) Mahan's theory of sea power, though specifically applicable to it, has universal appeal and general application—to international relations and national power, strength and consolidation.

(ii) As such, its principles hold good, both for defence power as well as for general and overall national

power, security, integrity and severeignty—for political and economic consolidation and progress at the national and international level.

(iii) Pakistan can draw useful lessons from these principles. Also from the history of international relations and its own short history.

(iv) Though people like Robert E. Walters have rejected Mackinder, obviously their views are controversial, despite being very interesting. In Pakistan's case, we have much to learn both from Mahan and Mackinder. But we will discuss only the former, (primarily, if not exclusively) in this paper ; as I intend to devote a separate article to the latter.

Mahan And Sea Power

Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914), an American, was the author of twenty books on defence and strategic studies, military science and tactics, military, naval and related political history, and scores of periodical articles on such subjects. The most important of his books are listed below :

(i) " The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783". (Published, 1890).

(ii) The Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812". (Published, 1892).

(iii) "Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812". (Published, 1905).

(iv) Biography of Farraught.

(v) Biography of Nelson.

Many critics consider the second of the above as his best work, being, in their opinion, better documented and more thorough than the first. But Mahan's reputation and influence, both, rest surely on the first. This can be judged from the

fact that it became an instant success, gaining global recognition—more abroad than at home, to begin with. Before long, his 'Influence Of Sea Power Upon History' was translated into several languages all over the world—German, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Japanese. It gave a direct fillip to the great and universal naval expansion then going on, especially in Britain, Germany, America and Japan, so that it is not easy to evaluate as to what really influenced which—Mahan, this naval development or vice versa. Probably it was natural. It is, of course certain, that Mahan's counsels fell on attentive ears and fertile soil. His views converted great men of high rank and key positions, notably Theodore Roosevelt in the White House and Henry Cabot Lodge in the Senate. Of couise, Mahan himself laid no claim to any originality : and, in fact, frankly acknowledged his debt to Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh ; and long before them, to ancients like Thucydides, Xerxes and Themistocles. Though his view of history is generally considered to be narrow and lop-sided, Mahan's theory did contribute significantly to the growth of the big navies of his days. So much so that according to his biographer, Taylor : "There is ample evidence that in the last few months of his life, Mahan suffered mental distress about the war (World War I) and the part he had played in it—although entirely unpremeditated—in stimulating the growth of the German Navy". Indeed, it has been said of him that 'more than any other individual, Mahan shaped the modern navies of the world'. His pen has been termed as "mightier than a flotilla, the super-dreadnoughts, his children and the roar of the 16-inch guns are but the echoes of his voice". It would not be an exaggeration to say that every naval officer had read his book and every ship carried it. It was commented upon by a contemporary critic of his, thus : "An admirable book, but the most incendiary of modern times". Another opined, "No other single person has so directly and profoundly influenced the naval doctrines and the national policies of so many nations". A French naval expert said of him that he, "Profoundly modified in his own life-time

the history of the age in which he lived".

The Salients Of His Theory

1. Comparatively speaking, sea power has greater importance than land power. An unrelenting sea blockade has always proved more effective and decisive in history than the most victorious and invincible of armies.

2. The correlation of naval and political history was so immense and inalienable that the economic power resulting from sea power and the control of the sea, ensured a dominating and prestigious position in world affairs, to its possessor.

Mahan's theory is applicable to Pakistan, both specifically and generally, that is : (i) to build up a viable navy and merchant shipping ; and (ii) to ensure national power, strength and consolidation.

3. "Land is almost all obstacle, the sea, almost all open plain", (Mahan). This is particularly true of land-locked states, or those with small and weak navies. A nation which can control this open sea-plain, by its naval power and with a strong merchant marine, has free access to the wealth of the nations and the world. Mahan believed that all along recorded history, sea power has been the single and most significant factor in 'world dominion' and the domination of the globe.

4. Therefore, the command of the sea and sea power are absolutely necessary for any nation, state or country ambitions to have a significant say in and sway over global affairs. It is also essential for increasing progress and prosperity, strength and security, growth and development at home. "Land powers, without access to the sea, no matter how great, are doomed to eventual collapse and decay", for the reason given in serial number 3 above.

5. History itself was a witness to these facts and the teacher of these lessons. That is why the British, persistently over the centuries, by conviction, policy and doctrine—and

irrespective of personal, party, monarchial or governmental considerations or variations—strove for naval supremacy. For, "Whoever rules the waves, rules the world". (Mahan).

6. Sea power is not just naval power and strength. It is much more, besides a military fleet ; and includes commercial shipping, merchant marines and 'a strong home base'. "The history of sea power, while embracing in its broad sweep, all that tends to make a people great upon the sea or by the sea, is largely a military history". (Mahan). The navy and naval activity, including warfare, are only a means to an end and not an end in itself. A nation's progress and prosperity is dependent both on the navy and merchant shipping—which, in turn, are inter-dependent and inter-related.

Elements Of Sea Power

While briefly delineating the rise and fall of the great maritime powers (France, Holland, even America and especially **Britain**, from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the Napoleonic wars), Mahan draws, by way of conclusions, inferences and lessons, certain elements which are essential for the attainment of sea power—and thereby, world power. These are six in all. Let us first list them, and then touch them, one by one. Mahan, of course, uses them in a specific, restricted sense, with special reference to the navy and merchant shipping, the coast and shores, the sea and sea power. They are :

(i) Geographical position or Location; (ii) Physical Confirmation or Features (including natural production, resources and climate) ; (iii) Extent of Territory ; (iv) Population ; (v) Charactor of People ; and (vi) Character of the Government.

These six elements can be broadly classified as Natural Features and Human Factors.

Natural Features

(i) Geographic Location

This feature is of prime significance. Being inherent and somewhat unalterable, it is, in a sense, naturally built-in and

predestined. According to Mahan, the most favourably located country is one, "That is neither forced to defend itself by land nor induced to seek extension of its territory by way of the land......as compared with a people one of whose boundaries is continental", *e.g.* England, on the one hand, and Holland and France on the other.

Bid to Alter Geography

My comment here is that though initially or inherently quite unalterable, attempts can be made, all the same, to change the limitations or enhance the advantages of this feature. For instance, by war and aggression, subversion or insurrection. The state itself might try to do so, or its enemy. All that means international trouble or at least border disputes, as in the case of the Indo-Pak. relations and the creation of Bangladesh.

(ii) **Physical Confirmation**

This is another vital natural feature, which includes natural resources like food and agriculture, dependent on the soil and climate, and a nation's mineral wealth (including oil and gas, today). According to Mahan, "The sea-board of a country is one of its frontiers, and the easier the access offered by the frontier to the region beyond, in this case, the sea, the greater will be the tendency of a people toward intercourse with the rest of the world by it". Deep and numerous harbours are always a vital blessing.

(iii) **Extent of Territory**

According to Mahan, this was not just "the total number of square miles which a country contains, but the length of its coastline and the character of its harbours". The greater and more suitable these are, the more helpful will they be in establishing and exploiting sea power.

Human Factors

(iv) **Population**

According to Mahan, the ratio of a country's total population to the extent of its sea coast is also most important.

That is because the larger this proportion, the more the dependence of the population on the sea, and the more sea-minded will it be. That will give a fillip to their urge for sea trade and sea-power. The significant point to be noted here is that it is not just the total population that matters, but that proportion of it which is dependent on its coastline, sea commerce and the sea, generally. "It is not only the grand total, but the number following the sea, or at least readily available for employment on the ship-board, and for the creation of naval material, that must be counted". And, "A great population following callings related to the sea is, now as formerly, a great element of sea power". (—Mahan).

(v) National Character

By this Mahan meant specifically the aptitude, preference and attitude of the people, towards sea-faring. He said, "Almost without exception, aptitude for commercial pursuits must be a distinguishing feature of the nations that have at one time or another been great upon the sea". That, despite the reputation of the British and the Dutch as "nations of shop-keepers". "The tendency to trade",opined Mahan, "involving, of necessity, something to trade with, is the national characteristic most important in the development of sea power".

Colonialism

The feature of national character included a nation's genius and ability to establish and retain healthy **colonies**—which implied settling down in, adapting oneself to, identifying with and adjusting to its interests, ways and life-styles and fully developing a colony's resources, rather than simply grabbing, exploiting and plundering them.

(vi) The Character Of The Government And Its Institutions

By these Mahan meant the form and nature of the Government and rulers, their doctrines, national policies and objectives towards sea power. For these "have exercised a very marked influence upon the development of sea power". While himself

opting for democracy, Mahan conceded success even to "despotic power, wielded with judgment and consistency", in building sea power.

The danger lurking in this suggestion is that the lure of sea power may well be used by the unscrupulous to justify their lust for despotism.

Despotism

It is obvious that as in the case of the 'character of the people', here too, Mahan did not use the term 'character in its wide, general and ethical sense. By it he seems to have referred to the governmental attitude and policy towards sea power. He believed that the government's influence was manifest in two ways : (i) in peace time and (ii) in war. In peace, "The government, by its policy can favour the natural growth of a people's industries and its tendencies to seek adventure and gain by way of the sea or it can try to develop such industries and such sea-going bent, when they do not naturally exist ; or, on the other hand, the government may by mistaken action check and fetter the progress which the people, left to themselves, would make". During war, sea power depends on governmental attitude towards 'creating, equipping and adequately maintaining an armed navy, of a size commensurate with the growth of its shipping and the importance of the interest connected with it'. In this connection it was also essential to maintain '**suitable naval stations in those distant parts of the world** to which armed shipping must follow the peaceful vessels of commerce'.

The Arms Race And Foreign Bases

There are two clearcut implications of these dicta. (i) Since it is not possible to build up a strong armed navy suddenly in war-time, the obvious and foregone conclusion is that this building up or war effort must precede the war, itself. That, in today's parlance, would give rise to an arm's race—which is going on in all the trouble spots of the world. (ii) Foreign

bases mean militaristic colonialism—which may be the most dangerous and deadly form of colonialism.

American Isolation

In a sense, Mahan had a big hand in ending America's policy of isolation. For he did everything possible to convince the policy makers, power elites and pressure groups of those times that America should compete fully with other powers for foreign markets, create a big navy, gain foreign naval bases and generally expand through colonies beyond the west.

Mahan's Relevance To Pakistan Today

It would be necessary to emphasise and clarify at this point that while Mahan was motivated by the desire for world dominance through sea power, Pakistan's national objectives are totally different. They are confined to enlightened national self-interest and national power through : (i) the preservation of its national integrity and severeign identity and (ii) the promotion of its legitimate national interests—of security and commerce. Even so, what was true, according to Mahan, in the context of sea power and world domination or global power, is also essentially true, both (i) to build up a strong government ; and (ii) to ensure a secure state. Let us see how.

Mid-twentieth century technological developments, scientific advances and nuclear knowhow, may or may not have disproved Mahan (and Mackinder). That is in the context of global power politics. But for the nation building and self-preservation of small states, his lessons from history have much contemporary validity even today.

Sea Strategy

To begin with, let us take a look back at our own brief naval, military and political history. Had Pakistan two well-planned defence commands for its two wings, had it, especially in East Pakistan, a stronger navy, and had the defence of the east been there and not in the west, Pakistan's history might

have been different today. Perhaps East Pakistan would not have fallen a prey to insurrection and aggression so easily. With better merchant marines, ship-building and sea-food industries, we might have been more prosperous, better East-West wing-wise integrated and inter-connected, regionally and globally. But we chose to stick largely to a small and impoverished navy, only. For we were dominated by so-called 'land-strategists' turned politicians.

Conversely, the disadvantages of land-locked states are obvious. According to Mahan, 'a relentless sea blockade has always proved more decisive than an invincible land army'. Did not India threaten to blockade our only western part of Karachi in 1971, and cut off that vital nerve centre from the rest of the country? **It is likely to implement this threat in future, whenever the opportunity arises.** The need for development, of alternate and additional facilities and diversification is inherent in Mahan's view that the length of a country's coastline and the character of its harbours numerous and deep—determine the sea power of a nation. But we remained largely contented with Karachi and Chittagong. Makran is a recent development.

Foreign Bases ; Maritime Interests

Mahan insisted on foreign bases, colonies and markets, just as he propagated the idea of global power through sea power, for America. (And his relevance lay essentially in being a well-timed propagandist). We in Pakistan have no such illusions. But the importance to us, of a strong defensive navy, of sea-food, ship building, commercial marines, sea-faring, maritime trade, and merchant shipping, and of multiple docking facilities and alternate, additional shores, cannot be over-emphasised. We cannot acquire Diego Garcias. But we lost our Maldives—despite the preponderant Muslim majority of these Afro-Asian Ocean islands—in the rush of the partition, because our so-called 'land-strategists' looked away from our sea-faring heritage and interests—while India's Pannikars and Davindera Kaushiks helped to build up Bharat's maritime strength and

lay claim to the unfathomed treasures of the Afro-Asian Ocean. **The prevalent scramble for this Ocean alone, is good enough reason for us to secure our maritime interests.**

The Nature of the 'Elements'

It may be reiterated here, that out of the six elements of sea power analysed by Mahan, while three are natural, three others are human. The former being a gift from nature, are inherent and built-in. They are, to that extent, somewhat fixed and unalterable. For instance, you cannot alter at will the size or location of a state. The human factors are, though also somewhat inherent and unalterable in the sense that races, cultures, histories, mores, institutions, traditions, ethnic traits and religions are, none-the-less more alterable and manoeuvrable, being human. But determined, energetic, wilful and resourceful humans are also capable of affecting and known to have influenced and even altered the natural factors.

National Power

It is largely a question of identifying national interests, determining national objectives and spelling out national policy —and then pursuing them dedicatedly. The natural factors are something to be accepted and reckoned with. For instance, Pakistan must realise the urgeney of its geo-strategic position or location and its geo-political compulsions. The human factors—including demographic, ethnic and ideological—are to be taken stock of and put to good use. Both the natural and human elements of sea power—I would call then **National Power**—are a nation's very self—for they sum up its strength and weakness, its assets and liabilities. Just as an individual must first know oneself properly in order to understand and develop one's potential fully, so must a nation be adequately aware of its inherent and acquired strength and weakness. The former is to be exploited and developed, the latter to be harnessed. Let us see how this can be possible in our case. Once understood and controlled wisely, even apparent weaknesses can be put to good use and turned into blessings.

Location.

Pakistan can look upon itself in two ways : (i) either as a helpless, weak and small state surrounded by powerful neighbours ; or (ii) as a strategic buffer zone and area of peace, progress and stability. The choice is ours and the options are open to us. But we must decide quickly (—if we haven't decided already)—and then fashion our national policy and line of action accordingly.

Expansionism

But here a note of caution from Mahan himself, against expansionists, would be in order. "Despotic power, wielded with judgement and consistency, has created at times a great sea commerce and a brilliant navy with greater directness than can be reached by the slower processes of a free people". —Even though--"The difficulty......is to insure perseverence after the death of a particular despot". The irony is that : (i) despots themselves are seldom bothered by such refined conscientiousness ; and (ii) it is, in fact, generally an after-thought of the nationalist or the historian. And further : 'a people one of whose boundaries is continental', it can be inferred with reason, may be 'induced to seek extension of its territory by way of the land'. The lust for land and expansion, and the lure of the sea and of power are time-old determinants of national motivation and aggressive expansion. Our neighbours, being human, can be equally fallible, especially when their needs or urges are or seem to be great and pressing, at least in their own estimate.

Wider Interpretation

Likewise the **other natural features,** i.e. the **physical confirmation** and territory, of a nation—when used both in Mahan's limited sense with reference to sea power—and in the wider and general sense of **all** kinds of physical features and **all** territory—with reference to overall National Power and not just sea power—epitomise a nation's strength and weakness. They

have to be appreciated, controlled and employed accordingly. Developed where development is needed and curbed when and where necessary.

Some Generalisations

The foregoing is also true of the Human Factors determining sea power. In order to draw the greatest lessons from Mahan as from history, it may be advisable to broad-base and generalise him. And that is, in fact, my basic thesis and contention, as declared in the beginning of this paper. Therefore, we have generalised sea power to mean overall National Power or Strength—and the elements or factors of sea power have been converted into corresponding, wider and general Elements and Factors of National Strength and Power. The intention is neither colonial—conquestorial nor hegemoniac—of global power and world dominance. It is avowedly and modestly of self-preservation. Therefore Mahan's Elements of Sea Power can be construed and reinterpreted as follows :

Reinterpretation of Mahan's Elements

(i) **Geographical Position**—As Overall Geo-strategic Constraints and Geo-political Compulsions. (Not only a state's relation to the sea).

(ii) **Physical Confirmation**—The Whole Area, its Location and all Natural Resources (—and not just the sea-board etc. —the entire area and not the coastline, harbours etc., alone).

(iii) **Population**—The Total Population, with all the demographic features, implications and factors—and not its 'sea-worthy populace', only.

(iv) **The Character of the People**—the Entire **National Character** and not just the people's attitude to the sea and aptitude towards sea-faring.

(v) **The Character of the Government**—To cover national objectives, polities, policy, form and system of government, state doctrines and institutions—as well as the character and political conduct of the rulers. Not just the government's sea policy, so to say.

National Character

The above, it will be concede, are broad general principles which, if practised, can go a long way to ensure a nation lasting strength, solidarity and security. They determine its geo-political, strategic, ideological and socio-economic compulsions ; and dictate its future options and programmes of action. National Power and strength, in the ultimate analysis, is not only a matter of natural resources and physical factors, it is also one of human resources and determinants—and of Human or National Character.

Land Power And Sea Power

Apart from the above, the relevance to Pakistan, of the Salients of Mahan's Theory, narrated in the beginning of this paper, is indubitable. Land power is vulnerable without corresponding sea power. This is best illustrated in the case of land-locked states and sea blockades. The interaction between naval and political power can be appreciated from the economic gains of sea power. A weak navy means weak defences and insecurity.

Economic Power

An infantile or impoverished merchant marine means limited trade and poor turnover. The sea is a natural link with the rest of the world and its riches and resources. All great nations have been mindful of the potential and possibilities inherent in sea power. There- fore they have never neglected it—but to their own peril and doom.

National Policy And Defence Strategy

Pakistan has suffered enough in the past as a result of its short-sighted national policy and defence strategy. It can no

longer afford to neglect the eternal lessons of history—be they in the words of Mahan, the ancients or anyone else. And for Mahan, "whoever rules the waves, rules the world". But sea power is much more than naval power, alone. It is military power in the widest sense (covering all the armed forces), 'commercial shipping and a strong home base'. "The history of sea power, while embracing in its broad sweep all that tends to make a people great upon the sea or by the sea, is largely a **military** history". And national progress and prosperity depends upon both the navy and commercial shipping. But above all—on National Character, which can ensure National Power and Strength, more than all else.

What has been said above of Pakistan is, perhaps also somewhat applicable to some of the other states in this region. Mahan thus has some validity for them, too. The non-nuclear nations from the Middle East to Japan and even Australia must have much to learn from him. Pakistan along with its Muslim and other friends could consider the formation of a grand Regional Alliance to secure their maritime interests and for their collective security and general good.

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longer afford to neglect the eternal lessons of history—be they in the words of Mahan, the ancients or anyone else. And for Mahan, "[illegible] the waves," [illegible] But sea power is much [illegible] It is military power in the widest [illegible] (armed forces), 'commercial shipping and a strong [illegible]'. The history of sea power [illegible] all that tends to make a people great upon the sea, is largely a military history. And [illegible] peaceful prosperity depends [illegible] commercial shipping. But above [illegible] National Character [illegible] create National Power and Strength, more than [illegible].

We [illegible] perhaps also [illegible] region [illegible] non-nuclear nations [illegible] and even Australia must have [illegible] such as Mahan and [illegible] of a grand [illegible]

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Mackinder And His Significance For Pakistan Today

Mackinder And His Significance for Pakistan Today

"Who rules East Europe Commands the Heartland :
Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island :
Who rules World-Island commands the world."

(—Mackinder).

Introduction

Many strategists, political geographers and geo-politicians today think that scientific advancement, air power, nuclear development and the sub-sea and missile technology have overtaken Mackinder's theory and rendered him rather outdated. Even so, even they concede the basic validity of his fundamental assumptions and premises ; and accept him as 'the father of geo-politics'. For, "his primary concern was to persuade his own countrymen and peoples of other democracies that geographical facts are of basic importance in the growth of peoples and states. He believed and taught that the world

cannot be made safe for democracy unless the geographical realities are fully understood".

Those who reject Mackinder outright or whole-sale, tend to evaluate his relevance to the contemporary world from the following rather biased angles of :

(i) Global power politics.

(ii) Cold War ; co-existence or detente—which, as a 'complex phenomenon' is a 'relationship that conjointly incorporates the three elements of co-operation, competition and conflict' or confrontation.

(—Z. A. Bhutto : 'RCI)—Challenges And Response' ; From : The Pakistan Times, Rawalpindi, 20-4-1976.

(iii) Imminent or fore-seeable—even forestallable—conflict between big or super powers.

(iv) A fast proliferating arms race, conventional and nuclear, between these global powers—especially as polarised between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. or between Democracy and Communism.

(v) Scientific, technological, military and nuclear developments since World War II.

Basic Thesis

The above may be very valid considerations from the point of view of western powers. But my basic theme and contention is that these touch-stones, though factual, are not *all that* applicable to : (i) the non-nuclear, small, poor and under-developed nations of the Third World—which fall largely in Mackinder's World Island, Hinterland, Inner Crescent and the Peripheral States lying on the borders of his Pivotal Area or the Geographical Pivot and the Heartland ; and (ii) especially in times of relative peace ; (iii) whereas in periods of tension, the thrust on or menace for them from the Heartland becomes all the more compelling. But we in the

Third World tend to look at every thing only from the point of view of global power politics and with the eyes of the big powers, instead of evaluating them from the stand-point of our own position and interests, also. So, whatever the facts of recent scientific developments, world power politics and strategy and their effect on Mackinder's theory, for the Afro-Asians and the Indo-Pak. sub-continent, the Heartland is still, basically, a reality to be reckoned with. In fact, it forms their major geo-political compulsion. These poor countries do not have either the wealth of the nations to feed them or the world's arsenals to defend them. They also realise that the unbounded ambitions of world power and domination, generated by Mahan and Mackinder, in the beginning of this century, still fire the imagination of global— and regional power politics. The strategy or smoke-screen may be ideological, the motivation is basically economic.

And so, the ghosts of Mahan and Mackinder continue to stalk the high seas and oceans, and the heart-land and its crescents. To the World Island and the Third World, they are be ideologistill a fact to be realised, accepted and lived with.

Who was Mackinder ? (1861-1947)

Born in England in 1861, Sir John Halford Mackinder was the son of a country doctor. Educated at the Epson College and Oxford University, he had an outstanding academic record. To begin with, he was, for two years, a travelling lecturer in geography, of the same university. He soon became popular and famous for his 'dynamic teaching methods'. Inspired by Mackinder, the Royal Geographical Society funded the creation of the first 'British School of Geography', at Oxford in 1899. Mackinder became its first Director. At the same time he was a Reader in Economic Geography at the London University. That was followed by his appointment as the Director of the London School of Economics from 1903-1908. Mackinder was always greatly interested in politics. He was elected many times to the British Parliament between 1910-1922.

But throughout his life—as a teacher, lecturer and researcher ; mountaineer and climber ; writer and politician—geography was his first and last love. He remained devoted to the "scientific study of geography, especially as seen from the human standpoint".

His Works

Notable among these are :

(i) The Geographical Pivot Of History. (Article-Pamphlet, Published : 1904)

(ii) Democratic Ideals And Reality. (Book : 1919)

(iii) The Scope And Methods Of Geography. (Reprinted : 1951).

(iv) The Round World And The Winning Of Peace. (Article ; 1943)

Except for number (iii), all are of vital interest to us today.

Within a decade or so of the American Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan's (1840-1914) theory of the invincibility of sea power and its role in the attainment of world power, the British geo-politician, Mackinder challenged its prospective applicability. This was contemporaneous with the Wright brothers' invention of the aeroplane in 1903 ; which fore-saw the emergence of air power as a new element of national and world power.

Mackinder presented his epoch-making doctrine in a short, 24 printed—pages pamphlet or essay on "The Geographical Pivot of History", at the Royal Geographical Society, London, on 25th January, 1904. Nothing so brief could have influenced so profoundly the thinking of politicians and military minds, geographers, historians and economists all over the world. It was a convincing analysis and interpretation of the intricate relationship between geography on the one hand and political history, on the other—on a global scale, down the ages to the present.

Mackinder's book, 'Democratic Ideals And Reality' was a more elaborate and detailed enunciation of his same basic theory. There was no significant modification of it, even though it followed the First World War.

In his article written during the Second World War, in 1943, on 'The Round World And The Winning Of The Peace', Mackinder propounded his theory for the third time. Even then, despite the passage of almost 40 years, he found it "even more valid and useful today than it was either twenty or forty years ago".

MACKINDER'S THEORY

I. 'The Geogrophical Pivot of History' (1904)

Theory of Closed Space

Mackinder first propounded this theory in his above-mentioned study. It has been described as the precursor of Wendell Willkie's plea for 'One World' which came forty years later.

The "Columbian Epoch"

This, according to Mackinder, was an age of four hundred years of the geographic exploration and expansion of the earth and globe. But all the Columbuses of the world had made their discoveries and done their bit. Now nothing was left for them to map, chart and reveal. "In 400 years, the outline of the map of the world has been completed with approximate accuracy". Therefore the Columbian Era or Period of exploration was over by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Post-Columbian Age

The results of this, as predicted by Mackinder, were :

'Closed Political System'

"From the present time forth, in the post Columbian age, we shall again have to deal with a **closed political system**, and

none-the-less it will be **of world-wide scope.** Every explosion of social forces, instead of being dissipated......will be sharply re-echoed from the far side of the globe, and **weak elements** in the political and economic organism of the world will be **shattered** in consequence... . **Every deal of humanity** will henceforth **be echoed and re-echoed**.........round the **world''.**

In other words, the world has shrunk and become one—a unit, if not a unity. And for that reason, it is more explosive and vulnerable, even as the possibilities of closer collaboration through being knit together have increased in this closed political system of our times.

End Of The Sea-Power Age

Because of this global closeness and the proximity resulting from unlimited mobility on land and by air, it was the end of the era of dominant sea power, according to Mackinder.

Era Of Land Power

As a consequence, the age of land power had been ushered in. 'Where was the natural centre for the new epoch ? In the world's greatest land mass, of course ; that is, in the immense area of Eurasia'.........

'Pivot Region'

Mackinder termed 'this immense area of Eurasia' as the "pivot region of the world's politics". He used five maps to illustrate his paper under reference (—on 'The Geographical Pivot Of History'). In one of these maps captioned 'The Natural Seats Of Power', Mackinder adumberated the 'pivot area'. For him, the geographical pivot was the north and interior of Eurasia or 'Euro-Asia', from the Arctic on to the central deserts and then west-wards over to the broad insthmus between the Baltic and the Black Sea.

His Historical Analysis

Mackinder's paper under discussion contains much historical ayalysis to prove his point. He held that Europe and the

rest of the world have been under persistent pressure from the pivotal area, for centuries. Thus :

"It was under the pressure of external barbarism that Europe achieved her civilization.........look upon Europe and European history as subordinate to Asia and Asian history, for European civilization is, in a very real sense, the outcome of the secular struggle against Asiatic invasion. The **most remarkable contrast** in the political map of modern Europe is that presented by the vast area of Russia occupying half of the continent and a group of smaller territories tenanted by the western powers".

But the most lasting influence was that of the Mongols, who invaded much of central Europe, Russia, Persia, India and China during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These invasions emerged from Mackinder's 'pivotal area'. Before long "all the settled margins of the Old World......felt the expansive force of mobile power originating in the steppe".

Mackinder could see what he called "**a certain persistence of geographical relationship**" in history which, down to the twentieth century, evidenced a marked enhancement in the power and influence of the pivot area in global affairs. That was because of and in tune with its rising economic and military strength. "**Russian replaces the Mongol Empire.........In the world at large she occupies the central strategical position held by Germany in Europe. She can strike on all sides and be struck on all sides,** save the North".

This seems to be quite true even today.

The Two "Crescents"

Mackinder charted two crescents beyond or outside the pivot area. He mapped in the **Great Inner Crescent**, Germany, Austria, India and China. The **Outer Crescent** contained Great Britain, South Africa, Australia, the U.S., Canada and Japan. According to the situation as it then stood, the sway of the pivot area was not matched to the power of the peripheral

states. But that was always a very real possibility. "This might happen **if Germany were to ally herself with Russia**"—resulting in the overflow and expansion of the emergent pivot state to the marginal areas of Euro-Asia. Such a colossal state could then harness "Vast continental resources for fleet-builting, and the **empire of the world** would then be in sight".

Balance of Power

"The actual balance of political power, at any given time is, of course, the product, on the one hand, of geographical conditions, both economic and strategic, and, on the other hand, of the relative number, virility, equipment and organisation of the competing peoples." And : "The geographical quantities in the calculation are more measurable and more nearly constant than the human".

So great, in Mackinder's estimation, was the geographical importance of the pivot region, that it would remain quite uneffected even if it were to be taken over by some people other than the Russians, e.g. the Chinese, with the help of the Japanese.

2. 'Democratic Ideals And Reality' (1919).

World Island And Heartland

"The War has established, and not shaken, my former points of view". In this book, Mackinder elaborated his theory in greater detail and tried to develop it to its logical conclusion. In the process, he coined a few more catchy and telling expressions. The 'Pivot Area' became the **'Heartland'** situated in the middle of the **'World-Island'**. For Mackinder regarded Europe, Asia and Africa as a single continent and **not** three, which he termed as the World-Island. The sea strategists to-date, who had conditioned the general thinking, could not conceive of this huge region as an Island, because it could not be circumnavigated on account of the "ice-cap, two thousand miles across', which 'floats on the Polar Sea...... with one edge aground on the shoals off the north of Asia. For

the common purposes of navigation, therefore, the continent is not an island". In Mackinder's view, however, this tri-continental, unitary World Island is an island—despite its expansive area and the impossibility of circumnavigating it.

The Area Of The Heartland

This covered nearly the same areas as the 'Pivot region'. It was the central part of Europe and Asia, far removed from and inaccessible to sea power. The Heartland "includes the Baltic Sea, the navigable Middle and Lower Danube, the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Tibet and Mongolia. Within it, therefore, were Brandeburg-Prussia and Austria-Hungary, as well as Russia—a vast **triple base** of manpower, which was lacking to the horse-riders of history". Significantly, Mackinder included the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea in his Heartland because World War I had shown them to be inaccessible to external sea power.

Salient Feature

For Mackinder, the Heartland had "One striking physical circumstance which knits it geographically together, the whole of it......lies under snow in the winter time". This was the **key to** and **focal point** of the World-Island. Stretching roughly from the Himalayas to the Arctic Ocean, and from the Volga to the Yangtze, the Heartland staggered 2,500 miles from north to south, and likewise another 2,500 miles from east to west. For Mackinder it was **inaccessible** not only to extraneous sea power, it was also **invulnerable** and **invincible** on account of its deep-set inland location. Therefore, if harnessed militarily and exploited mightily, it had the rich potential of becoming the seat and centre, pivot and **heart** of a strong and viable future world power.

Land And Population

So vast was the area of the Heartland and the World-Island, that this 'island' contained 2/3 of the world's total land mass, the remaining 1/3 of it belonging to the Americas,

Australia and the residuary lands of the globe. Population-wise, the said island was the habitat of 7/8 of the world's total populace. The rest of the regions and zones of the earth contained only 1/8 of it. Thus the Old World was/is, in Mackinder's words, "incomparably the largest geographical unit on our globe". Describing further the 'proportions and relations' of his World-Island, Mackinder asserted, "It is set as it were on the shoulder of the earth with reference to the North Pole. Measuring from Pole to Pole along the central meridian of Asia, we have first a thousand miles of ice-clad sea as far as the northern shore of Siberia, then five thousand miles of land to the southern part of India, and then seven thousand miles of sea to the Antarctic cap of ice-clad land. But, measured along the meridian of the Bay of Bengal or the Arabian Sea, Asia is only some three thousand five hundred miles across. From Paris to Vladivostok is six thousand miles, and from Paris to the Cape of Good Hope is a similar distance".

Some Significant Implications

A natural corollary and conclusion of the above facts is that : (i) the Americas (North, 'Central' and South) and Australia are comparatively smaller than the World-Island or the '**Great Continent**' of Mackinder, and (ii) the human and natural resources at their disposal are also of much lesser quantity and quality. Mackinder then posed the question, "What if the Great Continent, the whole World-Island or a large part of it were, at some future time, to become a single and united base of sea power ? Would not the other insular bases be outbuilt as regards ships and outmanned as regards sea-men ?" Despite Germany's defeat in World War I, **it was always still possible "that a large part of the Great Continent might some day be united under a single sway'** and that 'an invincible sea power might be based upon it". Mackinder proceeded to warn speculatively but in no uncertain terms that in the event of victory, Germany "would have establised her sea power on a wider basis than any in history, and in fact on the widest possible base".

The Way Out

That possibility was a colossal challenge to the world powers. How to meet it ? How to prevent any single nation, particularly Germany or/and Russia from attaining paramountcy in the Heartland, in the wake of the First World War ? The way out suggested by Mackinder was to establish a blockade or barrier of a number of independent buffer states from the Baltic to the Black Sea, comprising Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland, Great Bohemia, Hungary, Great Serbia, Great Romania, Bulgaria and Greece. This listing nearly coincided with that of the Paris Peace Conference. Of course history was to later disprove Mackinder on this score, because his buffer zone did not achieve its objective. To begin with, Germany and later, Russia penetrated this 'blockade' !

But the validity of his basic contentions remained, i.e. :—

(i) The almighty majesty and might of his colossus, the World-Island or the Great Continent, and its Heartland ; and

(ii) The idea of the creation of land blockades, buffer zones and barrier states to counter it—derived from the age-old policy of **divide and rule** practised at the very door steps of the adversary, to prevent him from spilling into and spreading over or trespassing another's hallowed land of peace and plenty.

3. 'The Round World And The Winning Of Peace' (1943).

Just four years preceding his demise in 1947, Mackinder re-examined his theory, during the thick of the Second World War, obviously in the light of its living experiences and prevallent lessons. This he expressed notably in an article captioned as above. He concluded, as cited earlier, that his theory was "more valid and useful today than it was either twenty or forty years ago". That was because air power had knit the world in a new kind of unity and shrunk it further—

thus inspiring the ambitions of the pockets of power to aspire to world power—and in proportion, to resist other such pockets. The Heartland was the greatest and strongest of such pockets. "If the Soviet Union emerged from the War as a conqueror of Germany, she must rank as the greatest land power on the globe. Moreover, she will be the power in the strategically strongest defensive position. **The Heartland is the greatest natural fortress on earth.** For the first time in history it is manned by a garrison sufficient both in number and quality".

Talking of the new Communist Russia of 1919, Mackinde. warned, "It may be that Bolshevik tyranny is an extreme reaction from Dynastic tyranny, but it is none-the-less true that the Russian, Prussian and Hungarian Plains, with their widespread uniformity of social conditions, are favourable alike to the march of militarism and to the propaganda of syndicalism".

So much for the evolution of Mackinder's thought and concepts over the years. Let us now try to see if we can apply or adapt them usefully to today's Pakistan.

Mackinder's Relevance To Pakistan

One way to assess his relevance to us is to recall his influence on his contemporaries and on world history—and its far-reaching effects and consequences.

Mackinder And The World

Mackinder had followers all over the world. Especially in the World-Island, the Great Continent and the Heartland. Which, of course, was quite natural and to be expected, for his theory affected these regions directly. Foremost among them have been the Germans and the Russians. Moscow's 'Institute for World Economy And Politics' has, for decades, been interested in the tussle between America and Russia for the World-Island, which both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. want to dominate.

Mackinder And Germany

Nazi Germany, however, took to Mackinder's theory most readily and avidly. Karl Haushofer, who was a very produc-

tive writer on geo-politics and political geography, adopted and reinterpreted it to suit the German objectives. He rose in 1908 as the German General Staff's military observer in Japan, got acknowledged as a specialist and retired as a major general. After his retirement and the surrender of Germany, he devoted himself to writing and teaching military history and geo-politics at the Munich University, for the rest of his life. He and his wife committed suicide in Bavaria, soon after the end of World War II. He was a multi-linguist and an established and well-accepted expert. Haushofer's influence—and through him, Mackinder's—swayed German geo-political thinking from 1925 to 1945. It is also visible in Hitler's **'Mein Kampf'**. Haushofer got introduced to Hitler by their friend Rudolf Hess. Haushofer was in constant touch with Hitler during his confinement in prison, after the fiasco of the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923. When the Nazis emerged victorious on the German scene ten years later, Haushofer was well in a 'key position to influence German policy'. As incharge of the Nazi Geopolitical Institute, he had innumerable specialists at his command to tour the world and produce studies on the socio-cultural, geo-political, economic and living conditions of the peoples and nations of the earth. These were loaded with material of strategic and military significance.

The Nazi Ideology

Karl Haushofer was a prolific and persuasive writer. He openly acknowledged his debt to Mackinder. Haushofer produced scores of books, tracts, papers, articles and pamphlets on geo-politics, strategic studies and political geography. They all added up to propound the **Nazi Ideology**, the basic concepts of which were :

(i) **"Geopolitik"**—which analysed the dynamics of world political change ; and :

(ii) **"Lebensraum"**—the German people's urgent and compelling/compulsive need for **'living space'** and for room enough to expand, spread out and grow.

The above, it will be readily appreciated, were the fundamental mainspring and motive force of German expansionism and Nazi jingoism or militant rather militaristic nationalism.

German-Russian Alliance

Karl Haushofer said in 1937 of Mackinder's theory that it was "the greatest of all geographical world views"; and that there was nothing "greater than these few pages of a geopolitical masterpiece". In 1939 he mooted the idea of a **German—Russian Alliance** just precisely to strengthen the political base that the Englishman Mackinder, with his British stance, had feared, predicted and sought to forestall. He relied upon and reproduced Mackinder's maps freely, in support of and to project his own views.

"Trans-Continental Bloc"

"Haushofer was obsessed with the conviction that Germany must win control of the Heartland. His blueprints called for a "**trans-continental bloc**" reaching from the Rhine to the Yangtze. Central to his scheme was to be a monster alliance of Germany, Japan, China, Russia and India against the British Empire. His teachings were strongly endorsed and supported by the German General Staff. The signing of the **Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939** seemed to make Haushofer's dream come true, **but** his whole policy was tossed overboard when **Hitler committed the most decisive blunder of** World War II by ordering his **generals to attack the Soviet Union**".

The Flaws In Mackinder's Theory

"Critics maintain, however, that air power has become such a formidable weapon that the conception of the Heartland has lost its strategic significance ......This view is reinforced by examination of the globe, where one sees the proximity of the Heartland and North America.........and the powerful place occupied by the Americas.........Further, the very size of the Heartland is a serious handicap to a defending power.

The great length of Soviet Russia's land and sea frontiers, for example, increases vulnerability to hostile air-craft and presents a defense problem of enormous complexity. While being able, in Mackinder's own words, "to strike on all sides", she can also 'be struck on all sides'."

"Point, Counter-Point"

Mackinder's reply to the criticism that he was not mindful of the immense potential of air power, has already been referred to earlier. In brief, according to him, air power had only enhanced the resilience of the close-spaced Heartland to defend itself and promote its own interests. It had also shrunk the world still further.

As for their proximity to each other and the resultant open vulnerability, it is on both sides, Russian and American etc. That is why the Arms Race, the Cold War and the need for Detente.

No doubt Herrick had said : "The air is universal. Air power can be blocked only by air power ; it knows no Heartland from which it is inevitably excluded.........Today's strategic formula might well read : **Who rules the planes, commands the bases : who rules the bases commands the air : who rules the air commands the world".**

But just like the air, the land and sea have their own relative universality. Air power may not know any Heartland and the rulers of planes may well command the bases. But air power needs land and sea bases from which it can be launched and manoeuvred. The Heartland and the World-Island, commanding the world's major portion of its land mass and human and natural resources like oil, gas, energy and petro-dollars, have an intrinsic worth and an inherent importance which may wax and wane with time, but cannot be overlooked or lost altogether. Further, nuclear submarines etc., have wrough a resurgence of the vital importance of sea power. And this counter-balances the unchallenged position of air power.

Lessons From Nazi Germany

What if the Russian-German Pact of 1939 had not been floated by Hitler ? What if Germany had not been defeated, dismembered and divided? In both events the pivotal Heartland of Mackinder would have emerged in a dominant position, whether as a co-equal Grand Russo-German Alliance or with one of these playing a dominant role.

Furthermore, the Nazi ideology of 'Lebensraum', shed of its racial and militant nationalism, can always re-emerge in the form of economic, political or nuclear expansionism or new colonialism. The reasons may be demographic, economics geo-political, ideological or even militaristic—or an amalgam of all or some of these. Already the world is a confused panorama of national and politico-economic ideologies. The Heartland and the World-Island is their contemporary scene and setting. Socialism dominates one third of the world today. From one point of view, Russia's Asian Security Plan may be regarded as an attempt towards consolidating the 'Heartland'. But by leaving out China, it will result in dividing the World-Island.

Mackinder And Pakistan

Falling in this very region, **what should be Pakistan's strategy for survival ?** That will depend on its National Objectives—determined, in turn, by its National Policy, based on its geo-political and strategic compulsions and its Defence and F reign Policy—and its Ideology—to a large extent. Also, of course, on its socio-economic and religio-cultural constraints and historical pressures.

Mackinder's conception of the Heartland may (—or may not) have lost its **strategic significance**, in the opinion of some critics. But they speak largely in the context of global power politics among the super and world powers, engaged, as they remain, in their menacing hot wars, cold wars, detente. SALT and NPT etc. And even in these, the possibilities, fears and

warnings raised by strategists like Mahan and Mackinder, have become a part of their psyche and collective subconscious and lie at the back of their minds. Mackinder modified, adapted and reinterpreted, still seems to motivate some action and reaction on either side. For each side is trying to prove or disprove Mahan and Mackinder, by **implication**, to suit its own interests, which is quite natural and understandable. The point is to be aware of such inspirational chess games and cross-fire of world power politics.

The greatest challenge in this game of global strategies can be—and indeed is—from what could be a powerful unifying ideology, which can really knit together and dominate the World-Island—socialism or communism. But ideologies, even for the socialists, come second to national and economic interests. And so a Sino-Soviet Detene is still a wish and a far cry. Mackinder had said that the importance of the Heartland and World Continent was quite independent of which race, people or nation—dominated them, the Russians or the Chinese. The point in history is that today they stand divided—not unified—to Mackinder's appeasement. And thus their combined potential and power stand greatly curbed, just as he had wished. Divest of a Sino-Soviet Detente, the peace of South Asia is a far cry.

Meanwhile, the classic strategem of—'divide and rule'—employed to stall the strength of the World-Island—continued to be employed ever since the Second World War. Germany was divided and remains so. Its combined power was and would have been a challenge to both Russia and Europe—for, to recall Mackinder, 'what the Heartland is to the World-Island, Germany, is to Europe'. But combined with Russia, it could be the world's greatest power. Israel was created in the heart of the Middle East, to keep it divided. The Lebanon might be split likewise. It does not matter much on which side is one super-power, for another has generally been and may remain on the other. And so the split and divisive status quo will continue. As in the case of Kashmir. Nearer home,

India looms as a trump card and the proverbial hornet's nest, Sword of Democeles and Pandora's box in the Soviet-Indian-Chinese tangled triumverate of tenter-hooks. Opting on either side, Bharat can tilt the scales of their destinies and their power politics, in the long run. But with its nuclear expanionist ambitions, land mass, explosive population, resources and military potential, it can well be a teaser to either, one day, with the backing of the West. Would it be wise for both Russia and China to woo and strengthen India, at the risk of their own interests, or to weaken and balkanize it or cut it to manageable size ?.........Only Time can till.

The situation, as it emerges today is that for the present—and in the foreseeable future—Mackinder's Heartland and World-Island stand effectively divided and contained. Unless the splits, divides and issues already referred to can some-how be resolved, to the satisfaction of all concerned. Which is, at best only a remote possibility and noble wish. The unification of the World-Island and continent may be a far cry; and Pivot-oriented—World Rule may be only a myth—because of the universally inherent tensions and contradictions—confrontations and conflicts involved. Even so, the Soviet Union firmly dominates the Heartland today. With modernisation, development and progress, it has made the region among the strongestin the world. As such, it is a force and factor to be reckoned with—in view of its massive population, area, size, strength, power, potential, might and strategic location.

Recognition of Reality

Despite all criticism, Mackinder's basic premises retain their validity. John C. Winant acknowledged him to be "the first to provide us with a global concept of the world and its affairs"; for Mackinder preached that, "There is no complete geographical region either less than or greater than the whole of the earth's surface". Therefore, the "Political geographer's is the crowning chapter of geography". Thus, Mackinder's chief objective was to convince the democracies of his day of

the primary significance and fundamental importance of geographical facts in the progress of states and the development of nations. In other words, the world can be made sound and secure for democracy best by recognising and understanding its geographical realities and pressures.

This, in a few words, calls for the intelligent cognisance and wise acceptance of the geo-political constraints and strategic compulsions of the world.

Detente And Peaceful Co-Existence

For Pakistan, these geo-political and geo-strategic compulsions of history and political geography lie in Mackinder's Heartland, the World-Island and the World-Continent. It must recognise and accept these, with good sense and grace ; and settle down in its eastern habitat with an eastern orientation—as (one of Mackinder's) buffer state of peace, progress and prosperity—contributing to regional and global detente and peaceful co-existence, in its own humble way and as best as it can. Of course, the attainment of a viable balance of power, (precariously disturbed by India's arms race and nuclear potential, and the Sino-Soviet differences), would be ideal for regional and even universal peace. But that is possible only with the help of regional and global powers, and not just the small states of the region. In the meantime, Pakistan must set its own house in order while, at the same time, coming to terms with its neighbours, striking the best possible relations with the Soviet Union and galvanising its tried and tested friendship with China, Japan, the Muslim World—both Arab and non-Arab and the small and medium states of South Asia. These regional friendships need to be strengthered in manifest economic terms which also meet their security requirements in the form of joint economic ventures, defence industry and even **defensive** military alliances, if necessary.

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The New Education Policy : A Brief Survey

The Education Policy (1972-80) was released and launched by the present government of Pakistan some time probably in March, 1972. Though rather controversial, to some extent, it was generally well-received, on the whole. To me, the test of any document, (be it literary or of any other kind) is not its total acceptance. That may well mean an attitude of servility. It is, rather, in its ability to tease one to thought and even action ; and in its practicability.

Before going into details or making any value-judgements on the motivation, outlook and quality of the new Education Policy, let us get acquainted with its salient features and essentials. It can be safely stated that its quintessence has been succinctly epitomised in its following objectives :

Objectives

1. "Ensuring the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan a maknding it a code of individual and national life."

2. "Building up national cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with our basic ideology through the conscious use of the educational process.'

3, "Building up and nurturing the total personality of the individual dynamic, creative and capable of facing the truth as it emerges from the objective study of reality : an individual able to comprehend fully the nature of technical and social changes and having deep concern for the improvement of society.'

4. "Mobilizing the youth for leadership roles through participation in programmes of social service and environmental improvement, and by inculcating in them the dignity of labour.'

5. "Eradicating illiteracy within the shortest possible time through universalization of elementary education and massive adult education programme.'

6 "Equalizing access to education through provision of special facilities for women, under-privileged groups and mentally-retarded and physically-handicapped children and adults in all areas in general and the backward areas in particular.'

7. "Designing curricula relevant to the nation's changing social and economic needs, compatible with our basic ideology and providing a massive shift from general education to more purposeful agro-technical education.'

8. "Providing a comprehensive programme of studies through the integration of general and technical education and by keeping options open for transfer from one course of study to another.'

9. "Providing academic freedom and due autonomy to

educational institutions within the framework of national objectives and requirements.'

10. "Ensuring active participation of teachers, students and representatives of parents and the community at large in educational affairs.'

11. "Generally promoting the welfare, dignity, and sense of responsibility of teachers and students."

The above objectives are the philosophical motivation and ideological raison d'etre of this Education Policy. As such, they are naturally prone to be misunderstood as somewhat ambitious and airy. Indeed, one does wonder whether all the plans, projects, programmes and proposals contained therein are practicable—or even worth implementing. More so when we keep our resources—human and material, and the target dates of the implementational period (1972-80) in mind. One can clearly discern and understand the natural urge to update and modernise ourselves and to catch up with the times and the advanced countries abroad. Relatively new and experimental features like the People's Open University have been boldly suggested. But many of these concepts remain rather vague and woolly, Likewise, many questions lie unanswered. A few gaps have to be filled in. The primary reason is, of course, that the Education Policy under review is essentially (if not exclusively) a policy statement, an announcement of objectives and a declaration of intentions, and not a precise blue-print or detailed programme of action. While it may be worthwhile to employ audio-visual aids and the modern mass media of communication in the field of education, it has to be conceded straightaway that in a poor country like ours, their scope is, of necessity, limited. We might, therefore, to begin with, try them out experimentally on a limited scale in pilot projects ; relying primarily on lhe far cheaper and already available more traditional means and conservative methods of education like the village maktabs aud masjids.

Even so, the new Education Policy is basically sound and worth implementing, What are being pointed out here are not so much inherent defects and loop-holes, as natural and removable snages, limitations and handicaps. The policy is nationalistic and motivated by our ideology. It has attempted to reconcile individual needs to national requirements. Efforts have been made to cure the rot and end the decadence in some sectors. Neglected areas like student-teacher-parents relations, rural back-yards, welfare and guidance, national service and military training, adult and continuing education, education for the handicapped and teacher-training have been heeded. Free and universal education are laudable ideals. Dignity of labour is a concept worth fostering and inculcating in our youth. The shift towards science, agriculture and technology is an answer to the call of times, The taking-over of at least the commercial and money-making type of private educational institutions was also necessary. No doubt all of these are worthy changes and emphases.

But the question of questions remains : how are we going to bring about these changes ? Do we have the means and resources, the man-power and know-how ? If so, (and I agree to some extent), then how are they to be put to the maximum and best use ? All this boils down to the issue of realism, down-to-earth practicability and pragmatism.

And then it is also a question of time. Four years have already elapsed. The Federal Ministry of Education may also have to consider to reorganise itself and thus be more suitably manned and toned to over-see the implementation of the policy within the specified period.

Special Features

Perhaps it is now time to touch briefly on somfe o the salient features of the new Education Policy.

The foremost, at least in the order followed by the document itself, is the noble objective of **Free, Universal and Compulsory** Education. To begin with, it has been stated : "Education will be made free and universal up to class X for all children throughout the country. However, due to our limited resources, this will be achieved in two Phases". That is, from 1st October, 1972, and from 1st October, 1974 to 1987. No doubt this is basically a realistic view. "Limited resources"—yes. But how limited ? And how will they be augmented ? 1987 is, no doubt, yet a long way off. Let us hope the targets will be met by then.

Talking of **Compulsory Education**, It has been declared in the Policy, "Whether education should be made compulsory and, if so, up to what stage and in what manner, are questions of a serious nature."......One couldn't agree more. But the only solution that has been offered is : "On account of its far-reaching implications in the socio-economic structure as constituted today, this issue is left for debate and decision by the Assemblies". Is this the line of least resistance or is it a practical and realistic approach ? Some feelers and cues, if not guidelines, might have been welcome How do other countries tackle this point and problems ?

The proclaimed **Shift Towards Science, Agriculture and Technology** is in response to the national requirements and changing times in a technological world. But unplanned mass production of science graduates and technicians etc. can be as useless as hordes of the unemployed qualified in the humanities or liberal arts. There has got to be a realistic ratio between education, national man-power requirements and job opportunities.

This is also true of **Higher and University Education.** There would be no point in a mush-room growth of new universities, centres of excellence, learned bodies etc. out of proportion to the community's needs and requirements. Much as it is reasonable and democratic to open education to all, higher

education everywhere is highly selective and restricted to the gifted and talented, the meritorious and deserving. We have got to raise our standards to the level of international competition and acceptance, if we want our degrees to carry any meaning and importance.

Adult and Continuing Education and the Education of the Handicapped are areas long neglected in Pakistan. Even to think of them is a welcome attitude. Let us hope something practical and definite will be done and achieved, with the help of voluntary and social service organisations, foreign and Pakistani missionaries and aid from abroad. It would be most humanising to associate our youth with such programmes.

Syllabi and Curricula are being revised. Which is as it should be. But duplication, if any, at the provincial and central level, might be avoided with better results. Further, such up-dating of curricula is a constant process, if we want to remain abreast with educational developments abroad. The agencies entrusted with the responsibility have to be permanent and generally in session, to review progress and over-see implementation.

An ambitious programme for centralised **Book Production** has been launched. The encouraging and commendable results speak for themselves. They are, at present, confined primarily to literature for children. Nationalisation of anything in a still (some-what ?) feudal-bureau-cratic-capitalist economy has its obvious and well-known limitations. Some would much rather ensure stable price controls and standardise book production through approved competition.

Privately Managed Educational Institutions, most of which suffered from many well known curses and evils, have been taken over. But many were good. Efforts should be made to maintain their high academic stanardds. Some institutions

have, however, been exempted from nationalisation. The exceptions are reasonable. They cover institutions which are 'run on a genuinely benevolent, philanthropic and non-commercial basis' ; which includes religious and charitable organisations and institutions. The intention should be to control them in order to produce the desired results and certainly **not** to kill them.

The Policy also aims to reform the **Examination System** in Pakistan, with the intention of raising the examinations from the level of memory-tests to an assessment of true ability. The examination system is only a projection and result of the teaching system of a country. You can not reform one without the other. Generally speaking, emphasis should be on true education rather than exams.—through mutual guidance, participation and discussion, rather than mere lectures and dictated notes ; on the ability to think, study, write, speak and express oneself independently, clearly and logically. The "library habit" has to be popularised, The semester system deserves a try out. Tutorials, seminars, and symposia, debates and discussion ; research, essays, dissertations, and viva-voce, all are highly commendable. Instead of the present essay type of question papers, a combination of the quiz-essay-thesis-viva kind of examination might produce the best in a student. Progress throughout the year and sessional need to be watched carefully.

For this, **Student Welfare, Guidance Counselling** and **Parent-Student-Teacher Relations**, all need to be taken care of. The new Education Policy is not forgetful of these, (even if details are lacking).

No one can deny that our students need to be—and what is more important—they themselves wish to be, more disciplined and occupied in creative, humanitarian and nation-building pursuits. **Social and National Service** and **Military Training** have been recommended by the Education Policy for that purpose. **Dignity of Labour** will also come that way. For

students need to use their hands more often and learn to earn for themselves by the sweat of their brow. The modalities of these schemes need to be worked out. I am sure the experts and specialists concerned, including those on army education and training, will be actively associated.

For the implementation of all the above programmes and projects, far too many **teachers** and educational administrators are required than we have at present. It's noteworthy that **Education** will soon be introduced as an elective subject from Matric onwards. But to produce more teachers, it may be necessary to have a teacher's training school/college in every district and major town and city. The capacity of the existing institutions will have to be increased. In-service and refresher courses will be needed. All big educational institutions in a town or city can be asked to conduct teacher's training classes, at least jointly. Teacher-trainers oriented to the new policy will be required in thousands.

Summing Up

While implementing the new Education Policy, it will be necessary to review the progress as well as the policy itself constantly, to weed out the dead weight and wastage and to make the policy more realistic and practicable. The demands of quality and high standards as against mere quantity, will have to be met scrupulously. Education cannot but be geared to a healthy balance of national needs, individual inclinations and job opportunities. Realism demands that we do not forget the costs, means and finances involved and our available resources—material and manual ; human and moral. Apart from foreign monetary and technical aid, direct and indirect taxation within the country may have to be resorted to. For example : (i) Education tax (—direct) can be levied on all tax payers at a reasonable rate ; (ii) Education Cess can be charged on the sale/purchase of all educational materials, books, stationery etc., and on cinema tickets, films etc. (like entertainment tax).

Some ticklish issues have really not been touched—perhaps wisely—at least not in depth. So the status quo remains on the language problem, the medium of instruction, the place of English in Pakistan, etc., etc. However, one remark can be ventured about the teaching of English in Pakistan. Since it is necessary as a second language, being an international language, and even as a medium of instruction at some stage and level of education, there seems to be no foreseeable escape from it. If so, good care must be taken to teach it well. At the M.A. (English) and even B.A. (English) level, a paper on the "Teaching of English" needs to be introduced. Education is now on the concurrent list as a common subject between the Centre and the Provinces. There has been no trouble so far to strike the head-lines. But there is no guarantee against the future. How can that be ensured ? What about Centre-Province and inter-provincial coordination in Education? At least to avoid duplication, over-centralisation and over-lapping.

I am confident that in implementing the Education Policy every effort will be made to economise and to put the available facilities, assets, properties and resources to the best and maximum possible use. Of course, the motive force throughout will be our religion and ideology. For that, apart from eligiousr studies, Pakistan Studies (including the Freedom Movement, Iqbal and Jinnah), is an absolute must, as we simply cannot do without proper ideological motivation at all levels. The nation will then have the sons and daughters of its dreams, in the day, to come.

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and job opportunities. Realism demands that we do ... the costs, means and finances involved and our available resources—material and mental, human and moral. Apart from foreign monetary and technical aid, direct and indirect taxation within the country may have to be resorted to. For example (i) Education tax (—direct) can be levied on all tax payers at a reasonable rate; (ii) Education Cess can be charged on the sale/purchase of all educational materials, books, stationery etc. and on cinema tickets, films etc. (like entertainment tax).

People's Involvement in Education

People's Involvement in Education

The short-term goals of educational programmes and even policies differ from time to time and vary with place, circumstance and conditions. They are determined by the peculiar human and material resources of a nation; and are formulated in response to its specific and special socio-political, cultural and ideological needs, requirements and aspirations. Religion, culture, history and geography are inescapable forces, factors and pressures to be reckoned with in this respect. Geo-political considerations have their own say, as well. Man-power requirements and limitations alongwith economic considerations and material resources delimit the kind and quality of education that a nation can hope to provide during any given period of time to its aspiring and eager sons and daughters. Educational bias and stance, slant, stress and emphasis, kind, quality, degree and category, all are the result of both, national requirements and available resources—indigenous and 'aided'.

As stated to start with, the short-term goals of educational schemes may and do differ with place, time and resources. The number, output and quality of our doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers, scientists etc. is bound to vary with all the afore-mentioned factors. Even so, the fundamental principles and objectives of education are more lasting and universal. They apply to the entire brotherhood of mankind, to all humanity, for they are human and humanising.

To be philosophical and yet specific and down to earth-ideally speaking, the aim of all sound education is to produce a sound, harmonious and stable personality, a noble human being, a good citizen. To bring out, foster and develop the best in a person and nation. To encourage one's inborn traits and talents. To enable an individual to express himself clearly and intelligently in thought, word, writing and action. To inspire him to think boldly, independently and critically. To seek truth, goodness, beauty and wisdom fearlessly. To uphold the pristine principles, ideals and values of life and live by them for humanity. To live wisely and well. In brief, to lead a noble and useful life worthy of popular support and mass acceptance. They, however, presuppose and insist on a welfare reorientation of outlook, and on social, altruistic, nationalistic and humanistic motives and objectives to permeate and inspire the social fibre and spirit.

All these may sound like common-place cliches and hackneyed expressions. But in reality they are the eternal ideals and values and evergreen precepts and principles of life by which man has lived over the centuries and shall continue to, if he must remain human.

I have used common expressions from every-day-life not just because I myself am a common man and a sort of outsider in this learned forum of educationists from all over the country. I have used them with the specific intention of inviting your attention to these eternals of human existence

which we tend to over-look in our 'busyness'. We either take them for granted or dismiss them as common-place. But the fact remains that even specialists and experts, resource persons and researchers, are very much human down below. It is equally a fact that most, if not all, of us live, and, what is more significant, happily, we like to live most of the time at the ordinary, down-to-earth, mundane level of the so-called common man and average human being rather than at the high-flown, philosophical plane of scholars and airy-fairy front of workshops and seminars. That is because our real workshop is the home, street and school and our true laboratory is life itself. And there's just no escape from them—thank God!

That is why I gathered the courage, (—which you might, in your generosity, like to humour indulgently, even if it be audacity !)—to address you despite being an outsider. Have no fears, my friends, your learned lingo will not boomerang at you ! I am inviting you to come down to my level of a common man and take a fresh look at this wonderful and varied realm of education. For education is, after all, like life's other blessings, for the misnamed common man. (By the way, I both resent and love this expression, depending on what it is intended to connote). If you grant that a writer, too, is a kind of teacher, and so is a citizen, for their classroom is life itself, then my claim on your attention is reinforced.

This is truly an age of democracy—wherein life itself alongwith all its many blessings, including education, are for the common man, the masses and the people. If that be so—and it is—the people's involvement in education is of paramount importance. This, if I understand correctiy, is also the aim of our new education policy and all the curricula, syllabi, schemes, plans and programmes devised or to be devised under it. The involvement of people in all walks of life and in every sense of the term. People as citizens, nation-builders and human beings, people as parents and guardians, and people as

teachers and mentors, students and wards. Education for the people and by the people. People as intelligent, receptive and participating human beings ; and not as dumb, driven cattle.

No scheme of popularising education, and placing it within the reach of the remotest hamlet of our poor country, can even hope to be successful without this earthy approach to and realistic view of our meager resources and eager requirements. Education must be made to step down from its cold and inaccessible, sacrosanct pedestal and come down to this poor, dear earth called Pakistan. There is nothing wrong with getting a Ph. D. from abroad. But we cannot either transplant those alien notions, no matter how attractive, and exotic experiences or facilities, root, shoot and soil, or convert our shanty "maktab" into a Harward or Oxford over-night, much as we might wish to. We can only mould and adapt them imaginatively, if we feel strongly enough for our people and motherland. We can only use sand and clay for plasticine and match or cigarette boxes for expensive teaching aides. That is nothlng to crib about. Indeed, it should be a matter of pleasure and pride that we are inventive and practical enough to improvise and make-do with local and domestic waste materials and scanty resources. That, precisely, is the challenge to us.

All this would require a grass-roots and drastic change in ideals and attitudes, both. We are Islamic in speech and democratic in slogans. We have to become truly democratic and Islamic in heart and spirit, in deed and action. Our very salvation and survival as a nation lies in that. No government can ever legislate such a reform. We ourselves, alone, can initiate such a change—of heart and mind, intent and attitude. Let us begin now, each with himself. Tomorrow might be too late.

Let us, then, dust education out of its cloistered hearth and revitalise it in broad day light. Through popular seminars,

symposia and discussion in the public, on the platform and in the press, involve the people in it to build the nation afresh. Let it not be a seasonal exercise in futility for reverential record or a fashionable 'in-thing'. Our appalling poverty, alone, cannot allow such a frivolous wastage of time and money. Let us, for a change, be more sincere about our professions, proclamations and promises. Only a genuinely honest effort can elicit the people's interest, support and cooperation. So far the scheme of popular education has their interest and blessings. Let them not be frittered away.

Only when the people are actually involved in our ambitious plan of national education, including general literacy and adult and continuing education, will we be able to hope for any success in it. They will then ensure its popularity by lending it their whole-hearted support, material and moral. But this requires a fundamental change in some traditional concepts and attitudes.

If education is to be for the masses, it has to be a two-way traffic and not a one-sided affair. The teacher must be enabled to acquire the knowledge and skill to ensure the active participation and interested involvement of the student, be he an adult or an infant. In this, the role of the home is most important. The parent cannot just dismiss the education of his child by getting him enrolled at a school. Parent-student-teacher relations and teacher-training (pre-service and in-service), need to be recast and built up afresh, with the student as the focus of attention. Guidance and counselling, or, in effect, sound help and advice, for the three, adapted to our own needs, requirements and resources, can no longer be ignored. The teacher's rightful and respectable place in society has to be restored to him. But he, too, must learn to be, once again and truly, the friend, philosopher and guide of yore. He must know his subject well, be interested in the well-being, future and up-bringing of the students and dedicated to his duty. From a commercial or at least bread-winning profession, education must once again be elevated to a vocation and

a calling. Of course, the teacher, too, is a human being and the economic facts and pressures of life cannot be ignored. Granted that all over the world, the teacher is, comparatively speaking, paid less than many others. The situation is worse in Pakistan. Even so, efforts can be made to ensure him a subsistence level of income rather than the starvation level. That, again, is for the society to endeavour for, if not to grant; and not just for the government to order. (Good citizenship requires price-reasonableness rather than profiteering. Goods and services within the common means and purchasing power can lessen the sting of humble wages).

The involvement of people in education, then, is at various levels and in different senses. As parents, teachers, students, citizens and human beings. From active learning or studentship to participation in a creative and cooperative national ventrue. The importance of good-will and cooperation expressed in cash and kind, patronage, team-work and a hundred and one other ways, cannot be over-emphasised. It is not enough to build and maintain our own roads, dams and huts at the time of national calamities. Let us vow to try to be good citizens out of crises, also. We can also build and run our own little country schools and hospitals ; and influence, iuplement and shape policies, plans and programmes by doing and not just dictating or demanding.

While the importance of the people's involvement in popular education cannot be ignored, such an ideal presupposes and necessitates the true democratisation of the human heart expressed in manifest action reminiscent of the laudable adage : 'simple living and noble thinking'. The teacher is not the only one capable of such nobility. We Pakistanis can think of no better motto, than the Quaid's, of unity, faith and discipline, at this stage of national reconstruction. For what is involvement or participation, if not all these principles and precepts, in the larger interest and lasting service of the nation ?

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The Socio-Cultural Aspects of Educational Guidance and Counselling in Pakistan

The Socio-Cultural Aspects of Educational Guidance and Counselling in Pakistan

It is my habit to begin from the beginning and to go back to the first causes and the original resource material. I will, therefore, refer to the New Education Policy (1972-80) and the "Goals and Aims of Education". Let us first take up some salient general "Objectives" of the Education Policy, relevant to my subject'.

Objectives

1. "Ensuring the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan and making it a code of individual and national life.,

2. "Building up national cohesion'.......

3. "Building up and nurturing the total personality of the individual'.......

4. "Mobilizing the youth for leadership roles'.......

10. "Ensuring active participation of teachers, students and representatives of parents and the community at large in educational affairs".

11. "Generally promoting the welfare, dignity and sense of responsibility of teachers and students".

Now we can turn to the more general but relevant Goals and Aims of Education ; which reiterate the spirit of the above objectives in different words.

Goals of Education

Religio - Cultural

1. "To promote understanding and appreciation of the fundamentals of Islam and the basic ideology of Pakistan, and their reflection in the code of personal and life".

Religio - Social

5. "To build up national cohesion by fostering social and cultural harmony through a better understanding of the rich heritage of Islam, of our struggle for the creation of Pakistan, and a review of achievements and lapses since independence".

6. "To inculcate patriotism and commitment to the achievement of national goals"......

9. "To inculcate a sense of the dignity of labour, and to prepare and motivate children and youth for productive service for the welfare of the community and the nation".

Individual

10. "To nurture the total personality of the individual'...

11. "To prepare the youth of Pakistan for gainful employment in accordance with their aptitudes and interests"......

International

12. "To promote international understanding and goodwill".

A Little Surprise

Before proceeding any further, I must, by the way, record a little surprise that I have experienced. Despite all the importance that is rightly being attached to guidance and counselling, in actual planning and practice, the subject is nowhere even mentioned directly, independently and with due regard, in the new Education Policy. Perhaps an over-sight by the printer's devil rather than of intent ! I would certainly like to be corrected, if I am wrong.

Basic Principles

Education is a life-long and continuous process which transcends the frontiers of formal institutions, courses and channels. It is also both a social and cultural activity as well as such a necessity. For it concerns and affects man's total personality, way of life and life-activity. It involves the whole society and community, no doubt. Even so, its focus of attention are students, teachers and parents or the family ; perhaps in the stated order of priorities. Educationally, socially, culturally and politically they from important pressure groups and even power elites. All over the world they are well-known to have changed or at least influenced the course of events. In developing countries their role and significance is no less. Even in Pakistan they have always and increasingly enjoyed a pivotal importance and assumed an epoch-making role.

Education is not just formal learning, academic achievement or the acquiring of professional skills. Education is life, itself. It is a preparation for life. "Political education"—in its widest sense—breaks through all barriers and makes inroads

into formal, non-formal and informal kinds of education. For it is a preparation for proper citizenship and imparts the civic sense and patriotic spirit. It is ideologically motivated and nationalistically inspired.

The Counsellor

The role of the guidance expert and educational counsellor acquires an added dimension, in the light of the foregoing. He knits three main pillars of our society, i.e. the youth, teachers and parents, into a corporate and cooperative whole, in the larger service of society. He produces fruitful and progressive results, with the following main aims in view :-

Main Aims

All sound education aims at producing a good citizen and a noble human being. One who can think, express and conduct himself independently, critically and creatively, He is a reformer and a missionary in his own humble way. He promotes peace and good-will. In Pakistan, alongwith championing these other objectives and ideals, education is ideologically and religiously orientated. Both a teacher and a counsellor will endeavour io achieve these goals as dedicatedly as is humanly possible. For a counsellor is basically an educator, also. In fact, he is first a human being, then an educator and finally a guide. He cannot succeed otherwise.

Basic Qualifications

Every good teacher is or tries to be the proverbial friend, philosopher and guide. This is equally true of a counsellor. Apart from being an expert or specialist in his particular field of study, research and discipline, he has to believe in and be devoted to his calling, cause and mission. He himself has to be ideologically motivated and inspired. Such an individual

must also be very humane, empathetic, cultured and understanding of human nature and problems. He will be an expert in human relations, also, creating ready response and rapport by winning over the willing confidence and cooperation of his wards and their families.

The Individual ; The Society

Of course, the counsellor guides and advises the yonng student on the following :

(i) His educational activities; and carreer.

(ii) His personal problems.

(iii) His family relations.

(iv) His social interests etc.

But this is just the beginning, especially number (i). Actually the whole young and expanding world of the young ones is of interest to his peer and guide, his friend and counsellor. The student has to be regarded both as an individual and as a member of society, in his social context, milieu and environment. Otherwise his guide's frame of reference will be incomplete or lop-sided. His individuality cannot be ignored or even minimised. Indeed, the guide is there primarily to ensure his ward's (or subject's) harmonious growth and development. But then, the individual does not live in isolation. His personality is greatly determined by his interpersonal and social mores, values and relations.

This would, therefore, necessitate a holistic approach to the issues. It would also require that not only should the individual student be taken seriously as a composite whole and not merely as a student, son or ward, but also as an integral part of the larger wholes called the family, the school and the society generally. Such a view would create the desired balance between laissez-faire individualism and totalitarian regimentation. The result would be an independent but responsible and

conscientious individual, true, both to himself and to the society to which he belongs.

The Old ; The New

Though as a specialist and expert in the modern and technical sense, the counsellor may be something of a new concept in our society today, but as a career-and life-maker, the educator and teacher is very much a part of our tradition. In fact, he belongs, to the rich eastern cultural heritage. That is why as a friend, philosopher and guide, he has always been revered no less than a parent in our society. In recent years, unfortunately, because of a materialistic approach to life on his part and on that of parents and students, his prestigious and enviable position has been eroded. But if he must play his chosen role well, he will have to reassert himself and regain his rightful place with diligence, dedication, knowledge, efficiency and expertise. Our society. also, will have to concede him his inherent right, if it wants to help him to contribute his very best to the community. From this point of view, it will certainly be ideal to provide as many schools or groups of schools as possible with guidance experts, counsellors and educational clinics. But it may be more practicable and economical to train every teacher in human or general, social and educational psychology and the general principles of hnman and interpersonal relations, sociology, guidance and counselling and Pakistan Studies. He may then be better equipped to face the challenge of his vocation. To my mind education is a noble vocation, calling and way of life, rather than a mere bread-earning profession.

Ideological, National and Political Motivation

To sum up, for us in Pakistan, the socio-cultural aspects of education generally and educational guidance and counselling particularly, are epitomised in character building, personality development, ideological inspiration, social reconstruction and political motivation. That is as it should be, for ours is an

ideological state which aims at producing good Pakistanis, good Muslims and good human beings. We believe in universal good-will and peace, and the brotherhood of mankind. That is our faith, creed and religion. But political education is not the same thing as narrow, creed-ridden party politics. Instead, it aims at creating the civic sense and responsible, mature and enlightened citizenship. Its objective is to revive our dormant national spirit, and the original sense of nationalism and patriotism which first created Pakistan. But for that we may first have to motivate our parents and teachers, and not just the students. Nothing short of a sustained and nationwide ideological motivational campaign would do. This may be a good way to preserve the quintessence of our tradition and heritage, and at the same time, to promote our, ideology alongwith absorbing the best in the world today. An all Pakistan level organisation for Ideological Inspiration and National Motivation would appear to be necessary for this purpose. It will need the help and cooperation of the media of mass communication, educational institutions including the universities and the provincial and federal ministries of education and information.

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The Socio-Cultural and Economic Implications of Agro-Technical Studies

The Socio-Cultural and Economic Implications of Agro-Technical Studies

I would like to begin by referring to a few Objectives of the New Education Policy (1972-80) relevant to the above snbject.

Objectives

3. "Building up and nurturing the total personality of the individual......an individual able to comprehend fully **the nature of technical and social change** and having deep concern for the improvement of society'.

4. "Mobilizing the youth for **leadership roles** through **participation in programmes of social service and environmental improvement,** and by inculcating in them the **dignity of labour**'.

7, "Designing curricula relevant to the nation's changing social and economic needs compatible with our basic ideology and **providing a massive shift from general education to more purposeful agro-technical education**".

8. "Providing a oomprehensive programme of studies through the **integration of general and technical education**".

Apart from the above **general** Objectives of the new Education Policy, it is also necessary to refer to some **specific objectives** partinent to Elementary Education (—classes I to VIII). Similar objectives are discernible at every stage of education. So far as Elementary Education is concerned, these objectives are contained in paras 2.16, 2.17 and 2.18 of the new Education Policy.

2.16. "Efforts will be made to develop such attitudes in the students of the elementary stage as will create in them motivation for **productive service for the welfare of the community**"......

2.17. "Dignity of labour will be emphasised and **school studies will be made relevant to individual and social needs.** Workshops will be provided progressively in all middle schools so that pupils may **engage in activities** such as weaving, book-binding, wood-work, black-smithy. leather-work, food-preservation, child-care, home management etc., **related to the local agricultural/industrial environment".**

Para 2.18. "The system of elementary education will be so designed that the knowledge and skills imparted, attitudes implanted and the learning methods employed will ensure that those not proceeding to secondary education **can be usefully absorbed into the economy of the local community.** For those leaving school after class VIII, **special courses for training in the skills of their vocational interest** will be provided in the school workshops. It is essential that children **who** drop out after class VIII **should carry with them enough skills to return to their local or ancestral vocation as better** farmers or craftsmen".

Inferences

From the above we can now safely draw some clear-cut general couclusions. So for as the aims and objects of the new

Education Policy vis-a-vis Agro-Technical Studies go, the highlights are :

(i) "A massive shift from general to more purposeful education". That is the trend and direction of the new scheme of things. It is also an 'integration of general and technical education' in order to absorb the 'nature of technical and social change' in our society and way of life.

(ii) Education will respect, protect and promote individual and social needs and encourage activities relevant to the 'local agricultural/industrial environment' and milieu.

(iii) Qualities of leadership, self-help, dignity of labour, social service, community development and environmental improvement will be fostered in our youth,

Main Point

To sum up the above for the present, education in Pakistan is no longer intended to be theoretical, abstract and impractical. It will be purposive, critical, creative, productive and progressive. It will be based in our socio-cultural life—fibre and way of life and woven into the fabric of our developing economy. The intention is to relate it to our life-situation, so as to improve, enrich and enliven the community and national life. Therefore, the socio-cultural and economic implications of introducing Agro-Technical Studies are wide and varied. Instead of producing numberless and jobless white-collared gentlemen, the object is to have employment-worthy skilled workers for industry and agriculture, artisans and qualified manpower which can easily be absorbed in Pakistan's expanding economy and developmental projects.

Justification

The justification for such an attitude and this emphasis on an agro-technical bias to education lies in the facts that :

(i) So far education in Pakistan has been quite general, aimless, unproductive and even wasteful. This situation had to be remedied, if we were to progress at all.

(ii) Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country and economy. As such, education must be based in such life in Pakistan and serve such life.

(iii) Nonetheless, Pakistan is also a developing economy. Trade, commerce and industry, all are developing at an appreciable pace. Agriculture, too, is getting scientific and mechanised. Education must be geared to these needs and requirements of the country and must be reformed to produce the necessary man-power.

Socio-Cultural And Economic Implications

These are inherent in the above justifications. Since our country is essentially agricultural, our economy and socio-cultural fibre and way of life are also basically rural, pastoral and agricultural. But, as stated earlier, Pakistan is a developing country. Under the influence of industrialisation, our socio-cultural fabric is also acquiring a new colour and another dimension. This is likewise true o^f our economy. Old traditions, values and ways of life are giving way to new ones. These changes are bound to get a further fillip by the introduction of disciplines and subjects like Agro-Technical Studies. Fresh knowledge, presented scientifically and convincingly, will open up new vistas of the mind and newer avenues of life.

Limitations

While the advantages in such a change are obvious, care will have to be taken not to let the robust, healthy and living be discarded with the decadent and dead, and the still useful with the useless. For there is, undoubtedly, much good in our traditional way of life and our heritage. A highly westernised, mechanised and industrialised life-pattern may be utilitarian,

rich and convenient alright. But spiritualism must balance materialism. On the artistic level, it is the misfortune of developing countries that traditional families of old artists and artisans are dying out, and with them, their skills, arts and crafts. Hybrids, fascimiles, replicas and cheap imitations are replacing original and period pieces. Apart from the pilferage and smuggling abroad of rare art treasures, centuries-old cottage industries folk arts, handicrafts and rural skills are disintegrating. These need to be preserved, protected and promoted.

From this point of view, a comparative study of one's own old and new culture along with that of the materially advanced countries, would seem to be imperative.

Some Essentials

Another note of caution that one would like to sound is against going to the other extreme. Let the pendulum not swing completely from general to agro-technical education. A healthy and desirable balance will have to be maintained in the larger and lasting national interest. Theory and practice must go hand in hand. Only the economists and planners in the related fields can indicate the approximate ratio and proportion. But the output will have to be in proportion to the man-power requirements and the bias and rate of growth and expansion of the economy. Unplanned development, no matter how well intended, tends to get lop-sided and reaches the saturation point sooner than otherwise. The result is wastage and unemployment. But no amount of planning can meet the challenge of galloping and unplanned birth rates. Therefore Population Education will have to be made a mission at all reasonable stages and levels.

Urbanisation

Small, poor and developing countries cannot afford metropolis and megapolis, no matter how alluring they may be. Urbanisation based on industrialisation has its own curses, evils and problems, price hikes, student and labour unrest, social

evils, poverty, squalour, shanty towns, ghettoes and a dilution of values being only some of them. No doubt the county-side has its own problems of hidden and seasonal un-employment and secret poverty. But social change being slower, life is stabler and steadier. Instead of encouraging the on-rush of the village population to the urban areas in search of employment, better prospects and change of life, (—which, of couise, is unavoidable and natural, to some extent), we could modernise our villages with the blessings of city life, yet keep them safe from its ills, thus preserving their essential blessedness.

The Chinese Communes

Much, of course, depends not just on one's national ideology as expressed on paper—but as translated in action and into practical life. Slogans are one thing, precepts practised and implemeted are quite another. An ideology when practised, becomes an economic programme, a political objective and a socio-cultural way of life for the whole nation.

The Chinese Communes System is one way of preserving a self-contained, self-sufficient and self-sustaining agro-industrial economy and way of life, and of preventing the onslaught of over-urbanisation. This is just an example. We may well evolve our own patterns, systems and life-styles.

Agro-Villes

We in Pakistan thought of the agro-villes, once. This may well have been a good choice for a mixed or agro-technical economy. But much depends on what we really are and intend to be, and also on which way we are going. In the meantime one would like to hear more of the agro-villes and the rural development programmes in Pakistan. For any educational programme, be it concerning Agro-Technical Studies or anything else, must, in order to be effective and productive, essentially fit into the over-all national ideology and strategy of development. Patch-work won't do !

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The Rationale of the New Curricula for Primary Schools

' The Rationale of the New Curricula for Primary Schools

Education And Life

It is a well-known fact today that education, in its broadest sense, is a continuumad-infinitum. That it is a continuous process from the cradle to the grave. The reason for this view is that the crux and context, the spirit and essence of education is life itself. In fact, it won't be wrong to say that education is life. For it is an attempt to live better and fully. An effort to understand life, adjust to it every day and master it as best as one can. Therefore the rationale, 'fundamental reason or logical basis' of all education is life and human nature. For these are its subject matter, raw material and point of reference.

The Rationale

The above is also true of the rationale of our new curricula and of the new Education Policy (1972-80), on which they are based, in so far as they intend to be more humanistic and nationalistic, scientific, broad-based and practical. Any attempt to understand these would, of necessity, have to refer to the ıationale and philosophy of the education reforms and even of the new regime.

Let it suffice to say that the present government in Pakistan claims and is committed to be the people's government. I need not dilate on that. However, a logical conclusion would be that its reforms, too, aim to be people-orientated. Can it be surmised that they are—so in practice—and if so, how far?

The New Education Policy

Here we are concerned with the educational reforms only, the new Education Policy and the prevalent philosophy of education in Pakistan. With their intents and purposes, goals and aims, objectives and targets. Also with their proper and fruitful implementation, i.e., with curricula development and action thereon.

To my mind, the rationale of the new Education Policy, and therefore of the new curricula devised under it, lies in the fact that it aims at being : (i) people-orientated ; (ii) based in national life and human nature ; and (iii) considerate of national requirements, interests and resources. Before discussing these, I would do well to quote from the new Education Policy, in order to reinforce my submissions. I will draw your attention to some of its relevant objectives reproduced below, which reinforce the above three points :

Some Objectives

1. "Ensuring the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan and making it a code of individual and national life'.

2. "Building up national cohesion'....................

3. "Building up and nurturing the total personality of the individual : dynamic, creative and capable of facing the truth..................and having deep concern for the improvement of society".

4. "Mobilising the youth for leadership roles through participation in programmes of social service and environmental improvement, and by inculcating in them the dignity of labour'.

5. "Eradicating illiteracy within the shortest possible time through universalisation of elementary education and a massive adult education programme'.

7. "Designing curricula relevant to the nation's changing social and economic needs compatible with our basic ideology and providing a massive shift from general education to more purposeful agro-technical education'.

10. "Ensuring active participation of teachers, students and representatives of parents and the community at large in educational affairs'.

11. "Generally promoting the welfare, dignity and sense of responsibility of teachers and students".

Democratisation

Objectives number 3, 4, 5 and 10 above would demonstrate that the new Education Policy is intended to be people—orientated, by promising to universalise education and place-it within the reach of the common man. Like-wise, objectives 3, 4, 10 and 11 seek to establish rapport with human—life, nature, problems and spheres of influence and activity. For the declared references are to the development of one's total personality, to the individual and society ; to social service and environmental improvement ; to promoting the dignity of labour, welfare and a general sense of social responsibility ; to the active involvement of teachers, students, parents and the community alike, in education. Similarly, objectives number 1,2 and 7 are nationalistic in intent and purpose, for their promise is to preserve and promote Pakistan's ideology and to strive

for both national integration and national development through proper education.

The above will thus go to illustrate that so far as the basic objectives of the new Education Policy go, an attmpt or at least a commitment has been made to : (i) nationalise education ; (ii) humanise it and also (iii) democratise it, within the available resources and limitations, and a short period of time (1972-80). This is further demonstrated in the first chapter of the Education Policy :
"Free And Universal Education" :-

1.1. "Education will be made free and universal upto class X for all children throughout the country".

The foregoing should suffice for the present as an introduction to the rationale of the New Education Policy. This was necessary because the policy is the inspiration and mainspring of the rationale of the new curricula for all levels, the primary included, devised under it.

The Rationale of the New Curricula

As of the policy, the rationale of the new curricula, also, is to humanise, democratise and nationalise education. In other words, to base it on human, educational and child psychology and in human values and basic principles affecting the head and heart. Also to popularise and universalise it and place it free of cost within the reach of one and all. And finally, to bring it in line with national and ideological aspirations, needs and requirements.

An objective study of the new education policy and a critical analysis of the above rationale would point to some more fundamentals and essentials on which the new curricula must be based. These are derived from the objectives of the policy and are discussed in it.

They are :—

1. The Grass-Roots

Any revolutionary change and progressive reform must start from the beginning – the base and the grass-roots, and gradually build up-wards. The foundation must be sound and scientific. Therefore the emphasis on primary education. There are people who give more importance to higher education and would like to start from the top. But how can students adjust to changed and raised standards at the higher level without first being prepared for the change right from the beginning through to the top ?

2. Teachers Must Learn

But no educational reform can succeed without first reforming the existing teachers and producing fresh ones according to the needs and requirements of the policy. Thus the stress on teacher education, demonstration lessons, reorientation courses, in - service training, reseach centres, text-book boards, education extension centres, curricula committees, seminars, refresher courses, educational work-shops, etc. etc. This calls for a fundamental change in the outlook and mentality of the teacher, as well as in the methodology of teaching from one-sided insipid instruction to rapport, motivation, involvement, active participation and true education. He must be humble and wise enough to realise that there can be no end to learning and education, knowledge and improvement. He must begin to learn afresh and remain open-minded and large-hearted enough to keep on learning and improving himself throughout his life.

3. Psychology

The new curricula have a psychological basis. They are motivated by general, educational and child psychology—all of which are much inter-related, and the learning processes of the child's mind. The primary school teacher would do well to

bear in mind the basic principles of child psychology while trying to educate his student. The child's learning processes, his mental and physical growth and development cannot be ignored. Local and individual needs and requirements have to be catered to. The child's natural curiosity, imagination, inventiveness and inquisitiveness have to be satisfied, explored and encouraged. Dictation or boring lectures to a sleepy or disinterested, dumb audience have been discarded. Through empathy the teacher is expected to understand and reach the child's mind, and through sympathy, his heart and willing interest and cooperation. There can be no substitute for intelligent rapport and hearty response. The child's active participation and involvement in education can best be elicited by encouraging him to learn by doing things and not just by watching the teacher. Self-help and team-work have to be fostered in order to encourage healthy individuality with proper socialisation.

4. Some Basic Principles

Here it may be fruitful to recapitulate some well-known fundamental principles of modern education, on which the new curricula are based. An intelligent teacher always bears these in mind while dealing with the child, both as an individual person and not an object or thing, and as a member of a live group, the class. The child, to begin with, is most interested in the world immediately around him, his own little environment and social milieu. He explores and tries to discover it. To understand and manipulate it. Teaching is more successful when the lessons are based on this environment, which can provide a world full of illustrations, experiences and observations. The direct method of scientific and first hand observation, feeling and knowing is recommended even in the teaching of languages. As is well known, the approach and progress is from the familiar, to the unfamiliar, from the particular to the general from the concrete to the abstract, from the easy to the difficult, from the

sentence to the word and letter or alphabet, and from sound to sense or sensory perception to sound etc. The association of ideas, of sense and sound, word and action, shape, colour and suggestive symbols can be fruitfully exploited. Individual needs, social requirements and local preferences and peculiarities have to be respected and regarded. That is why provincial curriculum committees and textbook boards were formed in addition to similar national institutions ; and the provinces will produce their own text books etc. These facts have to be employed in the daily process of education, also.

5. Social involvement

Because education is a social right, obligation and requirement, it at once becomes of great interest to the whole society and nation. Those most affected are the students, the teachers and the family. Creative and purposive social involvement, with the student as the focus of interest, has to be build up. Student-teacher-parent relations have to be nurtured constructively through suitable institutions, channels and traditions. Guidance and counselling, no matter how rudimentary and informal, would go a long way to develop the student's personality and enrich his life.

6. Audio-Visual Aids

Much reliance is being placed on those. Indeed they are of tremendous help. But in a poor country like ours, they can never be as modern or elaborate as in the west. That, instead of discouraging us, should be a challenge to our imagination, skill and inventiveness. Any good teacher should be able to improvise, adapt, mould, adjust, innovate, make-do and get along with local, domestic or indiginous waste material, surpluses and resources. Training in art and hand-work would thus seem very necessary for the primary school teacher. Let it not be forgotten that the cheapest and easiest visual aid is the written word and simple sketch on the green board and the

first 'audio' is the spoken word and sound in one's immediate surroundings. Audio-visual materials have to be employed as aids and not substitutes either of the teacher, his knowledge, skill and experience, or of the text book etc. A poor country can not afford to make its educational programmes too expensive or audio, visual or 'aid-heavy'.

7. Economy

The preceeding paragraph brings us to the all important question of economy in time and resources. In view of our stupendous problems and limited resources, the conservation and maximum or best use of these and what is traditionally or conventionally available as a heirtage or heirloom is essential. We have to make-do with whatever we have or reasonably hope to have in the related time. That, again, should activate our imagination, skill and improvisation. The double-shift system may be worth trying out.

8. Over-all Work-Load

For these and other more important reasons, the overall work-load of the child's school programme has to be assessed carefully. The primary school child should not be over-worked beyond his age and capacity. Home-work has to be substituted by class activities. Individual endeavours can be combined with group efforts. Oral exercises, illustrations, hand-work, games, reading aloud, songs, recitation, actions, dramatics, books etc., stories, quizzes and riddles, hand-made clay models, cheap plastic educational toys indiginously produced, class-hand-work, etc. etc., could be usefully employed. Let the child go to the class black-board, dais or pulpit whenever possible.

9. The Individual ; The Group

Individual attention and individualised instruction have their own importance. But the teacher himself is the best judge of his own resources and challenges. In single-teacher schools or even classes, especially where the number of students

is relatively large or larger than the average, individual attention may not always be possible. The teacher then has to strike a balance between group activity and personalised teaching. In a person-to-person relationship between the teacher and the taught, teaching can be made really meaningful.

10. Evaluation

Under the new education policy, the evalution of a student's ability and progress is a continuous and not a periodic process. He has to be observed throughout the year. For this, individual rapport is essential. The emphasis is on education, not examination. The annual examination, and with it, the stigma and problem of failures and drop-outs, is thus dispensed with. That necessarily and naturally intensifies the role of the teacher and enhances his responsibility. He at once becomes a more wide-awake, dedicated and conscientious individual. More skilled and knowledgeable, too.

11. Teacher's Guides

Every care is being taken to make them available in the prescribed time, and before the new curricula are introduced. But let no teacher feel crippled without them. His best, first and foremost guide is the New Education Policy itself and its objectives. These should be his source of ready reference and continued inspiration and guidance. No teacher's guide can be more effective than the teacher himself. His knowledge is in his own mind ; his flair and flame, in his heart. The library, his colleagues and seniors, the parents, students and community generally, are all there to help him.

12. Student's Work Books

These, again are, at best, teaching aids and not substitutes of either the teacher or the text. In case they are beyond the average means, the good old slate and 'takhti' redesigned into a portable, handy green or black board, can always be tried out again.

13. Educational Expenses

If education is for the people, it has to be as free or as cheap, as possible. Despite the best efforts to produce low-cost books etc., the expenses on work books and exercise books etc., add to the cost of text books and the over-all educational expenses. One way of controlling the costs might be to encourage the use of the class-room black board, the slate, the student's miniature black or green board and the modified 'takhti' suggested earlier, written on with chalk.

14. Micro-Testing

The new curricula are being introduced after adequate micro-testing based on scientific principles and a psychological approach. Even so, being the product of human endeavour, they are not fool-proof or perfect. The teacher, who is the field worker, man on the job, implementer of the education policy and most in touch with the student, is expected to continue this pursuit of what is the best for the student. He is in the best position not only to implement the policy but also to watch and report on its working. The teacher must feed-back to the supervisor (—the headmaster, principal, inspector, researcher, resource person, guide or counsellor), his observations, experiences, suggestions, comments, criticism and objections. Only then can the desirable curricula be evolved through experience and practice. At the same time, the imaginative, fruitful, and interpretative implementation of the policy and curricula is a constant challenge to the skill, knowledge and improvisational ability of the teacher. Local conditions and needs, individual requirements and differences and limited resources add to this challenge.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, the success of the new Education Policy and the productive implementation of the new curricula,

are in the hands of the teacher, more than any one else. The child, they say, is the father of man. If so, the duty of the primary school teacher becomes all the more stupendous. More so under the new Policy for it vouches to reform the education system from the grass-roots to the tree-tops. The reforms envisage a revolution both in the mentality and outlook of the teacher as well as in the methodology of teaching, which must be more scientific and psychological ; more humanistic and nationalistic. Our resources are extremely limited. The time short. The challenge immense. But with dedication and diligence, the Pakistani teacher can certainly rise to the occasion. Good-luck and God-speed to him !

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What is Islamic Democracy ?

What is Islamic Democracy ?

(Mussawaat-e-Muhammadi/Islami.)

Introduction

For years now, I, (among others), have been trying to draw attention to the possibility of 'Islamic Democracy' being considered as a viable alternate political programme in Pakistan—if not in combination with Islamic Socialism—which would be quite an ideal thing. Recently a section of the opposition has indicated some interest in it. This calls for a note of sober caution, despite all the optimism that it might invoke. Reference is here invited to my following books in this connection :

(i) Islam and Socialism. (Published in 1971).

(ii) After Our Fall. (Published in 1972).

(iii) Sons of The Soil. (...Dte.........1974).

(iv) Pakistan's Security And National Integration. (1974).

During 1975, my contributions appearing in the Muslim-News International, Karachi and the Defence Journal, Karachi,

have echoed the same theme. It is my firm belief that Islamic Socialism and Islamic Democracy are two fundamental aspects of the same religio-ideological system, Islam, the former stressing economic democracy and the latter, socio-political democracy.

Clarification

I must hasten to clarify that :

(i) I have been interested in Islamic Socialism and Islamic Democracy as a independent Muslim and Pakistani nationalist, alone, and **NOT** as a political partisan. These sanction and uphold the key-concepts of Islamic Secularism and the Islamic Welfare State.

(ii) I lay no claim whatsoever to any originality or initiative in propounding the thought and system of the Islamic Ideology in Pakistan—as manifest in all these concepts. In fact, the terms are rightly traceable to Allama Muhammad Iqbal and attributable to the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, especially the expressions Islamic Socialism and Islamic Democracy. This is evident both from their speeches, statements and writings, as well as from writings on and about them. That is because both the Quaid and Iqbal were avowedly and indubitably :

(a) Enlightened and Progressive Muslims.

(b) Democractic.

(c) Anti-dictatorship of any kind stall.

(d) And they believed that Islam is emancipated and liberal, enlightened and humanitarian, democratic and progressive.

For them, Islamic Socialism and Islamic Democracy drew their inspiration from Islam and Islam, alone—the complete

code of life, and from Pakistan's National Ideology ; and are motivated by its free and fraternal, democratic and egalitarian principles and precepts. Unlike Western Democracy, which is quantitative, Islamic Democracy is qualitative, emphasising (rule by) consent, concensus and cooperation rather than cut-throat competition. It implies the sharing of power at all levels, including the party and provincial—which is true to the spirit of federalism and the principles of federation. It is moral and ethical, invoking both the human head and heart, in the service of the nation and of mankind ; and it follows the middle path and the golden mean of moderation in all matters. Islam believes in the peaceful evolution and moral transformation of society —and not in class warfare, hatred and bloodly revolution.

(iii) Foreigners apart, Pakistani scholars *have been working for decades (and long before me) on the theme of the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan, Islamic Economics and the other concepts mentioned earlier.

The Economics of Islam

Though much has been written even in Pakistan on the philosophical, socio-political and ideological aspects of these issues, it is alleged in some quarters that the Pakistanis are quite blank about what they mean by Islamic Economics, especially as applicable to Pakistan. It is one thing to coin and raise slogans, but quite another, to produce a workable system and programme. And no ideology is worth its name, without a practicable and holistic socio-political and economic system and programme. No doubt, there's yet much to be

*For Example : Khalifa Abdul Hakim, Dr. Javid Iqbal, Mr. Justice Cornelius, Mr. A. K. Brauhi, Mr. Justice S. A. Rahman, Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir, Dr. Amir Hasan Siddiqi, Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, Khalifa Nasir-ul-Din Siddiqi, Maj. Gen. (Retd.) M. Akbar Khan, K. A. Faruqi, Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, M. S. Shaikh, Mirza M. Hussain, M. M. Sharif, Dr. B. A. Dar, Inam-Ul-Haq, Maulana Abul Ala Maududi, L. A. Sherwani, Syed Yaqub Shah, M. D. Siddiqi, Shakir Rizwani, S. A. Vahid, Mr. Justice B. Z. Kaikaus, etc.

done in the field. But the situation is not as hopeless as it is imagined to be, as the sample listing (—Bibliography) of books written/published in Pakistan, (certainly far from being exhaustive), will show. Perhaps it is only a drop in the ocean. But is it not a promising beginning ?

As is well known, some publishers in Pakistan, like Sh. M. Ashraf and the Islamic Publications, Lahore and the Muslim-News, Karachi, specialise in Islamic research and literature. Other old and established ones, like the Ferozsons Ltd., Lahore, though no such specialists, encourage similar work, by convication and policy. It is also conceded that perhaps much of the above is in the nature of doctrinal, theoretical, academic and ideational material, rather than strictly scientific, practical, pragmatic and secular. But the point to be appreciated is that at least some of our apolitical scholars are seriously concerned about the issues as stake.

'Islam-Pasand' etc.

This is despite the fact that their critics may dub and decry them as 'Islam-Pasands'. By the way, what does this condescending, cynical term really mean—and in a Muslim or Islamic state, at that ? Do its users claim by implication that they are the super-custodians of Islam, well in a pedestalled position to sit in judgment on others and classify them as 'Islam-pasand' and 'Islam-na-pasand' etc.? Aren't we all Muslims and Islamic ? And can a true Muslim really be 'Islam-na-pasand'? The expression might be applicable, with some justification, to non-Muslims who look upon Islam, favourably, interestedly or indulgently. But a Muslim is not just 'Islam-pasand' : he is expected to be, ideally speaking, a repository of Islamic virtues—or proverbially, Islam itself, for Islam incarnate.

Incidentally, what would our 'Islam pasand-walas' describe Iqbal, Jinnah and the ideologists and founders of Pakistan as—'Islam-pasand' or 'na-pasand' ?

The Point

My point here is to indicate the shallow and puerile level to which (partisan) political debate can degenerate at times, dragging in religion and whatever else that is sacred and sacrosanct.

The Villainy of Slogans

Islam, Pakistan, and its (Islamic) Ideology have often been misused as slogans in Pakistan, throughout its history of nearly three decades. First it was 'Islam and Ideology' pure and simple. Then they tried to politicise them with the Basic Democracies System. Lastly it was Islamic Socialism—being pulled in different directions. The latest is Islamic Democracy. All, at best, have been hazy dreams and visions. But generally, helpless names, tools and slogans in the hands of some (—**not** all) mesmerising and misleading politicians.

Note of Caution

The history of the villainy of slogans may yet repeat itself if there is no radical change of heart and intentions on the part of our politicians. The fear, therefore, is that Islamic Democracy might go, unfortunately, the same way as its predecessor-slogans—or anything else described as 'Islamic'. The only way to prevent the slogan-mongering of political ideals is to transform them into available socio-political manifestos and economic plans and programmes. Otherwise they are doomed to misuse, corruption and final rejection by the people, like other promissory cliches and cant preceding them.

The Intention

I captioned this brief essay as, 'What Is Islamic Democracy' ? not with the intention of attempting to provide or even hint at an answer. But to emphasise the immense need for such an effort and answer at the national level. For that, much dedicated and sustained work has to be done by a team

of experts in Islamic Thought, Philosophy, Ideology, Politics, Sociology, Economics and Jurisprudence, drawn from all over the country—with the sole objective of spelling out the Islamic Ideology, in its comprehensive and cosmic totality, in manifest socio-economic and political terms, and to give it such a practicable manifesto and 'manshoor', programme and plan of action. For Pakistan has had enough of half-baked ideologies and still-born credocs.

The Basic Requirements

(i) The first and fore-most among these is dedication to the highest and noblest of national and human ideals —to Pakistan and its fraternal and egalitarian ideology —inspired by a singular sincerity of purpose and honesty of action. Then, the petty, personal, partisan and parochial will have to be made subservient to the human and national considerations.

(ii) Unity of purpose, intention and action. No individual, group or party can ever hope to succeed without this. The story of our Freedom movement—or even of the rise and fall of the Muslim League, in another sense, is enough to drive home this lesson. The Quaid-e-Azam's was a lone voice in the wilderness, till he welded the Muslims of the sub-continent into a singular party, an invincible unit and an indivisible unity.

The above fundamentals call for an absolute change of heart on the part of all the Pakistanis, if they really want to ensure a well-integrated, progressive, prosperous and lasting Pakistan—whether of the Islamic Democratic—Islamic Socialistic or any other type. Needless to add that lessons from our history, emphasising the qualities of : (i) the **sincerity of purpose, intention** and action, and (ii) of the **unity** of intention, purpose and **action**, are as much applicable to the opposition

as the government, be it of any tint, shade or hue—and in fact, to the entire nation.

Let the Pakistani scholars, politicians and intelligentsia, then, pause a moment for a bit of honest introspection on the lines already suggested and try to define, delimit and systematise Pakistan's Ideology—and to give the country a viable and comprehensive socio-political and economic manifesto and programme, in the light of our pre-destined, built-in and inherent Islamic Ideology—which would be good for the entire nation and not just for this political party or that. We should not forget that we are at the crucial cross-roads where eye-wash and slogan-mongering would not do for long. Deferring and delaying the suggested action on socio-political manifestos and economic programmes, relying on slogans and intentionally keeping them catchy but vague, may be expedient tactics and make-shift strategy that pays off some short-term dividends. But in the long run it has always proved to be suicidal, both for the so-called programme and the party which launches it. Do we have to learn these lessons again and again through suffering and failure ?

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Iran's Interest in South Asia

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Introduction

It is a matter of common knowledge that the foreign policy of any state is the projection of its national policy, and its international relations are designed to promote its national interests.

Keeping this vital fact and factor in mind, the first question which arises in the study of the interests of any state in any other state or region is : What motivates this interest ? This question is equally applicable to Iran's interest in South or South-East Asia. In other words, we might ask ourselves at once : What is Iran's interest in this region and what is the motive force behind this interest ? The simple and general answer, as suggested above, is : the promotion of Iran's national interests and the projection of its national policy.

But what is this national policy and national interest ?

Apart from the usual, universal and essential interests of national and regional security, peace and progress, Iran is motivated by certain pressures which are peculiar to it. They can be traced back to its history and circumstances—past, recent and contemporary. They are also attributable to its geo-political constraints and geo-strategic compulions. Let us examine the more important of these, briefly.

Geo-Political and Geo-Strategic

Claiming by inherent right, the leadership of the Persian/Arabian Oil/Gulf region, Iran's location is very important, strategically. With all its wealth, it is easily vulnerable to the Russian might and even influence. Iran knows that Russia's interest in it is firm, persistent and critical. Iran verges on, (if not falls in), the inflammable Middle East. Except for Pakistan and Turkey, its relations with other neighbours have been at the best just workable/working. With the Arabs, they have been uncertain and wavering. Only recently have they been normalised with Iraq. At one time, even Pakistan, (though a close friend) was, strength-wise, a potential to be reckoned with.

The dominant geo-political theme of Iran's national policy is :

(i) National security, sovereignty and integrity.

(ii) Leadership and guardship of the Oil Gulf area.

Political

Iran is an ageing monarchy which is menaced by revolutionary forces around and democratic-progressive consciousness within. It is a benevolent dictatorship preserved by political shrewdness, state forces like the Savak and American-cum-West European backing. Added to this is the yawning generation gap between the Shah and his son, which makes the issue of succession and continuity quite a problem for Iran. Its predictable, active and p.ospective props are the well-known trio—

the still very young crown prince, the queen and the Shah's twin sister. The matter becomes more serious when its trouble-spots have not died out completely. In short, Iran is bravely racing against galloping time and political obsolescence. This is both understandable and quite admirable.

Economic

Iran, with its oil money, is booming with wealth. It is using that to :

(i) Modernise its arsenels and weaponry and ensure its defence and security ; especially through its air force and navy.

(ii) To build up a prosperous economy at home, in order to keep the people happy and contended with the monarchial status quo.

(iii) To win friends and allies by investing abroad.

Iran's petro-dollars are intended to secure its peace and longevity, friends and allies. Its heavy investments in the West are paying off political dividends. Now it is wisely turning to the East foı similar success and joint/shared leadership of South Asia/the Third World/the Group of 77—which will reinforce its claim to the leadership of the Oil Gulf area.

Iran's 'Forward Policy'

The Shah's utterances on both his domestic and foreign policy indicate depth, foresight and vision. He is a man who likes to plan much ahead and peep into the future lying decades hence, keeping a firm grip on the present, at the same time. This is particularly true of his views on stagflation, the energy crisis, population explosion, nuclear proliferation, peace zones, detente and the economic and political rights of the Third World vis-a-vis the West. In order to safe-guard Iran's frontiers and promote its interests, he is following a 'forward policy' which takes him gradually to South Asia and

the Far East, on the strength of his backing by the West and his own economic resources. He has managed so far to keep the Russians at bay ; and is developing good relations with the Chinese as well as with Japan. He has invested much in India and would like to be on the best possible terms with it—not of course, at the cost of his relations with Pakistan. That is what 'bilateralism' means to him. The Shah seems to support regional alliances or arrangements only to the extent that they incorporate and promote Iran's bilateral relations. That explains his suggestion to expand the R.C.D. in order to include India, among others. Some critics consider Iran's 'forward policy' as a projection of the US/Western (imperialist ?) policy in South Asia, to contain communism and to effect a viable regional balance of power, neutralising the Russian influence and wooing India into a kind of counter, reversed or parallel 'Asia Security Plan'—wherein the dominant role will be played jointly by Iran and Bharat.

For Iran, the R.C.D. is both a link with Turkey and Pakistan and a stepping stone towards the Afro-Asian Ocean and South-East Asia. Among other things, that would keep Iran's sea lanes and arteries open. But he would not like to get bogged down with the R.C.D. That is why his courteous evasion of the proposal to concretise it at the Izmir Summit recently. The proposed Treaty of Izmir has yet to be signed. It might not be fair to pre-judge it. But it may also be equally promissory and evasive, if one can opine on the basis of current events. One proof is the ten-year plan to introduce the R.C.D. free-trade zone. In ten years the world would have changed tremendously and with it, the need for such a zone or even the R.C.D. , itself. As such, some realists/cynics/critics might regard the joint communique at the end of the Izmir Summit as a brave and courteous apologia, based on facts. Of course, Pakistan did its very best and is not to blame for the luke-warm outcome. It would have taken all three to make a go of it. The Shah's pragmatism in this connection could also be regarded

by some as restrictive of the R.C.D. (—if not 'subversive' of it). He does seem to be acting as a built-in 'sobering' factor. Apparently the 'stalemate' is perhaps due to inherent and circumstantial or situational political and economic, national and international limitations, which none of the three partners seem to be able to help.

The Middle East being more troublesome, Iran is looking towards South Asia, which gives him a larger perspective, a freer outlet and all the sea-lanes and ocean channels that it wants. While maintaining its traditional ties with the Middle East and interest in its peace ; and while preserving its good relations with Europe and America, Iran's thrust towards South Asia is sure. At present it necessitates cordiality with India. But Iran's forward policy does not mean self-defence and self-preservation, alone. It also implies a desire to at least share gradually (—if not to 'monopolise', as some suspect), the leadership of South Asia. India's ambitions in this direction are too well-known to be elaborated here. Therefore, the possibilities of competition (--and may be even cold confrontation one day), between them for the senior/major, if not exclusive and unquestioned, leadership of South Asia by both Iran and India One has the money and the other, the nuclear might, to lay such a claim. But for the present, it is in their mutual interest to keep any such plans conveniently convert, and neutralise each other with mutual wooing. The decisive factor in this Indo-Iran bid for the leadership of South Asia will be the role of the super and big powers, and the state of the Sino-Soviet relations.

Pakistan's Options

How does Pakistan fit into this context ? Essentially as a pay-off beneficiary and a buffer zone of peace—for the present. It must mature into realising that it should not place all its eggs in one basket. While normalising its relations with its neighbours, Pakistan needs to befriend Russia and galva-

nise its ties with China, the Muslim world and the smaller states of South Asia. It, too, must reach out for Africa, on the one hand, and Japan and Australia, on the other. Pakistan, also, must not get bogged down in the R C.D. Indeed, the very intention in creating the R.C.D. was to protect and promote the partners, mutual interests jointly, and not to convert it into a collective trap **to arrest such stakes and concerns**. And there can always be substitute and/or expanded R.C.Ds. If Iran has its understandable reservations or even Turkey is reluctant, others may be more amenable, e.g. the Arabs, Indonesia or Malaysia ; Sri Lanka and China. All this may be a tall order. But we seem to have no choice but to keep trying to preserve and promote our national interests.

Iran's forward policy towards South Asia can be balanced and coupled with Pakistan's forward policy towards the Middle East, one the one hand, and Far East, on the other. It is not a question of competition, parallelism or check-making. It is only one of keeping our options open—while firmly securing old and existing friendships, including Iran's and Turkey's and preserving the spirit of the R.C.D., in-fact, the R.C.D., itself, as far as possible—in order to promote national interests and reglonal peace, progress and prosperity.

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